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"The commotion, more or less violent, which has taken place in the whole peninsula of Spain, has been "of eminent service to awaken us from the state of lethargy in which we indulged; to make us acquainted "with our rights, our glory, and our duty towards our holy religion and our king. We wanted some elec- "tric stroke to rouse us from our paralytic state of inactivity. We stood in need of a hurricane, to clear the "atmosphere of the insalubrious vapours with which it was loaded."—ADDRESS OF GENERAL MORLA to the People of Cadiz, June 15, 1808.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

SPANISH REVOLUTION —— From what has been published under official authority, there appears good reason to hope, that the French army under General DUPONT has been worsted, if not made prisoners of war, by an unconditional surrender. This event, if it should have taken place, together with the unconditional surrender of Rosilly's fleet, at Cadiz, will have a wonderful effect upon the minds of men both in France and Spain, and, indeed, in every other part of Europe. But, auspicious as these events must be considered, I derive less satisfaction from them, than from the sentiments expressed by the revolutionists, and the evident moral effect, which the contest is producing, and has already produced in Spain. Amongst the regulations, contained in the edict, issued by the revolutionary government, for calling forth the exertions of the people, one is, that all the people, women as well as men, of whatever *rank* they may be, who are not employed in military service, shall *assist in getting in the harvest*, with the exception of such women as are aged, or infirm, or of weak constitutions, and these are called on to employ themselves in preparing *lint* and *bandages* for the use of the hospitals. What a change! What a train of new and noble ideas must be created! What a sweeping and fatal scythe to luxury and all its endless train of vices! Smash, all to atoms, go the fashions and follies of the cities. The swarms of players, buffoons, musicians, makers of false hair, false eyes, false teeth, false shoulders, and false breasts; the pimps, parasites, bawds; the toad-eaters, whether in red, blue or black. The whole of this numberless swarm are dispersed; are driven, by the first rustle of the storm, from the fruits upon which they were gorging; and, are compelled either *to fight*, or to help to *get in the harvest*. If this be not a revolution, I want to know what the word revolution means. When the air is foul and unwholesome, these qualities arise from its being full of noxious creatures; and, as General Morla well observes, when this is the case, a hurricane is necessary.——As to any hope of the French being resisted without a total change of the government, and even a very considerable shifting of property, it is downright folly to entertain it. Already is there a *paper-money*, and a scheme for selling part, at least, *of the property of the church*. If this be the case before the contest is well begun, what must take place before it be ended?——The Courier newspaper of the 15th instant, has an article upon the subject of Spain, which demands particular notice. The Morning Chronicle, of the same day, contained the following paragraph: "We cannot contemplate this pro- "ject of an attack on Austria without dread, "when we think of the *debasing prejudices*, and *debilitating system* of the court "of Vienna. All their sufferings have not "served to open their eyes to the impolicy "of their principles of government. May "we cherish a hope that in this, the extre- "mity of their fortune, they will make a "virtue of necessity, and *begin by giving to "the people a country for which to fight.*" ——This is, surely, very sound doctrine. Nothing can be more reasonable; and, experience, to kings woeful experience, has proved, that nothing can be more true. Yet, does the Courier take great offence at it; and, as if it, or its masters, were a party deeply interested, flies in a passion, and falls into the foulest of misrepresentation and abuse.——"This, it will be remem- "bered," says the Courier, "was the dis- "gusting and detestable language of a fac- "tion at the beginning of the present war. "According to them *Britons had nothing "to fight for.*—Nothing! fighting to avoid "subjugation by Buonaparté was fighting "for nothing!! It was by such abomina- "ble language and doctrines circulated in "Germany by writers styling themselves "philosophers, who endeavoured to phi- "losophize mankind into an indifference to "country, constitution, and climate, to "make them look upon themselves not as "citizens belonging to a particular state,

" but citizens of the world; it was by such " doctrines that Germany was reduced to " that state of apathy in which Buonaparté " found her, and which rendered her so " easy a conquest. The Germans were in " love with the works of their philosophers, " they were a reading nation, they called " themselves enlightened—the governments " under which they lived were old, many " of them had great defects; defects which " these philosophers magnified and enlarged " upon, to convince the people that no " change could place them in a worse " situation than that in which they " were. The people believed, and no " where did we find any vigorous efforts on " their parts to resist the French. The " people believed, and what has been the " consequence!—they thought they had " nothing to fight for, and *they have found* " *that their former situation, under even* " *the worst of their governments, was per-* " *fect happiness and freedom compared with* " *the tyranny and exactions under which* " *they now groan.*—Oh, bitterly do they " now repent their criminal apathy, and " confess that the first duty of every coun- " try is to resist with all its might and " means being placed under a foreign yoke " —It is well worthy of remark, that the " true and proper feeling with respect to " country and resistance to the French, has " been manifested by nations supposed to " be amongst the least enlightened in Eu- " rope—the Calabrian peasantry and the " Spanish people. They lived under con- " stitutions perfectly despotic; yet when " they were invaded by the French they did " not listen to the Burdettites and cold " calculating politicians, who told them " they had nothing to fight for—they flew " to arms and resistance; for they felt that " no curse can be so great as being a con- " quered nation, and conquered, too, by " the French. Yet upon the principles of " the Burdett party, and of the late minis- " ters, who say now, that the Austrian " government, before they resist Bonaparte, " " should begin by giving the people a " " country to fight for," the Spaniards " and the Calabrians should have said, " " give us a country first, before we fight " " against those who are attempting to " " conquer it." Among the Spaniards " we saw none of these men attempting to " damp the ardour and heart of the nation, " by such dispiriting doctrines—No—no— " they all saw that resistance against France " was their first duty, and that whatever " might be the defects of their government, " those defects were but as dust in the " balance, when weighed against the pre- " ponderating and imperious necessity of " preventing their country from falling " under the yoke of France.—Doctrines " and language such as those to which we " have alluded, we had hoped never to " have heard again; they cannot be too " deeply deprecated, they cannot be too " strongly reprobated; they are most exe- " crable; they are the doctrines that are " admirably calculated to do service to the " enemy; make but a people believe that " they have no country to fight for, and " they are half conquered to Bonaparte's " hands already."——This article sets out with a falshood, which has been a hundred times refuted, but which has still preserved its malice in the breast of the foul propagator, though he himself has experienced a change of place.——With respect to the Germans being now in a worse situation, than they were in under their former government, that is a point upon which men differ; but, supposing it to be granted to this outrageous assertor, he forgets, that men will very willingly suffer much themselves, in order to bring suffering upon their oppressors; and, he also forgets, that the sufferings of the Germans, though we were to allow them to be more acute, are not so firmly settled, and so likely to be permanent, as they were before. The *hurricane* as General Morla says, was necessary; and, though there be a sort of pause, the hurricane is *not yet over* in Germany. If the Germans should, by and by, rouse themselves, shake off the yoke of France, and, which will follow as a matter of course, establish freedom in their country, will the Courier deny, that the French invasion was a good thing for Germany?——We are next desired to bear in mind, that it has been only amongst those who were the *least enlightened*, and who lived under governments *the most despotic*, that the French have met with any thing like manly resistance; which is a pretty broad hint, that it is best for people to be kept in this state. The Calabrians and Spaniards, we are told, " did not listen " to the cold calculations of the Burdettites; " they flew instantly to arms and resistance; " for they felt, that no curse could be so " great as being a conquered nation; yet, " upon the principles of the Burdett party, " they should have said: " give us a coun- " " try to fight for, before we fight against " " those who are attempting to conquer " " it." No, Sir, there would have been no sense in their saying this; for, though, seemingly, you would wish the world to forget the very important and valuable fact,

they *had* a country to fight for, before they drew a single sword from the scabbard. Before they drew the sword, their country was *left to themselves*; they had neither king nor prince; and, in the case of Spain, so far from having a sharer in their country, they took up arms to defend it for themselves, against the declared will, and in defiance of the commands of the sovereign, whose authority, until then, they had implicitly obeyed. The Burdettites would not have been so foolish as to say: "give the "*Spaniards* a country to defend." They had got a country. They had it entirely in their own hands. If its government was bad, it was their own fault. They *had* a country, and, *therefore*, they took up arms to fight. No, Sir. It was not because the Calabrians and the Spaniards were under the most despotic governments; this was not the cause of their taking up arms in resistance to the general invader; it was from a cause of precisely an opposite nature; it was because, they felt that they might, by fighting, now obtain their freedom. Their shackles had been, all of a sudden, broken, or, rather, they had been let loose, through the imbecility of their masters. They once more felt the use of their limbs; they tasted the sweets of freedom, and they were ready to die rather than again become slaves. No, Sir, I pray you look not in the Spanish revolution for a compliment to despotic government. While that government existed, not a noble deed or a noble sentiment did any man ever hear of in Spain, formerly so renowned for her valour. The French troops came unresisted to Madrid; the French fleet domineered in Cadiz; the people, in all parts of Spain where the French appeared, gave up their dinners to feed and their coats to cloth, those very troops, whom, *since that government has ceased to exist*, they have been preparing to fight to extermination. No, Sir, we must not suffer you to persuade your readers, that the most effectual way of rendering a country invulnerable against the French, is to make its government despotic. This is a very pernicious doctrine, however well it may suit your purposes to promulgate it, and however palatable, to some persons, it might be. We contend, that the Spaniards are *now* free men, fighting for the preservation of their freedom; we hear them declaring, that the *Cortes*, or *real representatives of the people*, shall be restored; that there shall be a *reform of the abuses*, existing under the late government, which they term "*base and infamous*;" we, therefore heartily wish them success. But, you obstinately persist in considering them as moved to action by the principles of despotism, and as having in view no other object than the preservation of that despotism. Napoleon, for once, outwitted himself. He should have suffered the king to remain in the country, and brought in his brother softly, without any interregnum. He should have suffered no cessation of the despotism. The new master should have come in, before the old one quitted the house. There should have been not a moment's suspension of the use of the rod. When a German bird-catcher sells you one of the poor little creatures whom he has enslaved, he takes a special care to put him out of his hand safely into yours; but, king Charles, as if he had meant to defraud his "intimate "friend," Napoleon, let the bird fly, and left his intimate friend to catch him and tame him again. The bird, delighted with the enjoyment of his native freedom, has hitherto withstood all the temptations of the decoy at Bayonne, though the old bird-catcher has lent it his assistance; and, Napoleon, in a rage, has sent out his marksmen to destroy what he fears he cannot possess. No, Sir, you will never persuade the world, that the energy, the wisdom, the bravery, now displayed in Spain, are the fruit of despotic government. I can easily conceive reasons for your wishing to cause this to be believed; but, in this, at least, you make up your mind to a complete want of success.——"Make a people but believe, "that they have no country to fight for, "and they are already half conquered to "Buonaparté's hands." *Make* a people believe, Sir? Why, do you think it possible to make a man believe that he is cold when he feels the sweat pouring down his forehead? If the belief was produced, in Germany, for instance, by artificial means, had not the government the use of ample means wherewith to counteract the philosophers? It was done by *printing*, was it? And cannot governments employ the press, Sir; cannot they keep hireling writers and hireling printers in their pay; cannot they expend a considerable part of the taxes for the purpose of producing a belief in the public mind? Had the philosophers of Germany greater powers of this sort than the several governments had? No, Sir, "phi-"losophy," as Sir Francis Burdett observed, in the House of Commons, some years ago, "has no such triumphs to boast of; revolu-"tions have been the work of oppressive "governments, of tyrannical or misguided "princes, and corrupt ministers." Philosophy, real philosophy, aided by the press,

may do much in directing the mind, in hastening the growth of discontent; but, the seeds of discontent must be first sown, and take root; and this will never happen to a dangerous extent, under a good government.——When you first espoused the cause of the Spanish patriots, you did not seem to be aware of the conclusions which would be drawn from the success of a people, deserted and betrayed by their royal family, taking up arms against the conqueror of all the rest of Europe. You seem to have been carried away by your joy at the prospect of seeing somebody, no matter who, or with what motive, resist Buonaparté, and thereby draw him off, for a while, at least, from his undertakings against this country. But, now that you perceive, the *moral* to which the Spanish revolution so plainly points; now that this has been shown you, you appear to be alarmed and greatly embarrassed. You cannot wish Buonaparté success; and yet you appear to see little less danger in the success of the patriots, unless you can cause it to be believed, that they have not been, and are not, animated by the love of freedom. Hence your anger at our observations relative to a people who have no country to defend; hence your malicious revival of a very malicious and refuted falshood against Sir Francis Burdett. But, why, Sir, be so anxious upon this score? Why drag in an old falshood, and retail it as truth, for the purpose of indirectly asserting, that "*Britons have a country to fight for?*" Who has asserted the contrary? Who *dares* openly and plainly to assert the contrary? Why, then, do you think it is necessary to weary us with a defence of what has not been, and will not be, attacked? The Morning Chronicle could not so much as express its regret, that the government of Austria (a government with whom we are at war) did not begin its preparations for defence by giving the people a country to fight for, but you must burst out into a violent passion; and discover resentment as keen as if you had a hand in conducting a government of the same sort as that of Austria. "Let the galled jade go wince; "our withers are unwrung," should, upon this occasion, have been the only observation from an English ministerial writer. But you seem to take the thing to heart. You seem, from some cause or other, to be deeply interested in the reputation of the Austrian government, and are thrown almost into madness, at hearing it ssserted, that, if the people are already as perfect slaves as they can be, they have no motive for fighting against an invader.——What you wish your readers to believe is this, *that the Spaniards are fighting for their country as it stood before the departure of the royal family.* That this is not true is undeniably proved by the plain narrative of events. 'Till their royal family were completely gone, they made no resistance against the French; they saw the king and queen and prime-minister go to Bayonne; they saw their new king and his brethren summoned to the same place; not a man of them rose in the defence of either; but, when they were all safely gone, when the despotism was dissolved, then, and not until then, the people took up arms. It is, by some, pretended, that the young king was *inveigled* away. Inveigled away! Leaving a French army in the heart of the kingdom too! What! could a king be inveigled away, and nobody have any suspicion of the matter? Do you think, now, that, if our king and all his family were to be invited by Buonaparté to take a trip to Calais, a French army being arrived in the neighbourhood of Westminster; do you think that we should have very sanguine hopes of seeing any of the family come back again? No; that the people of Spain looked upon Ferdinand as being bound upon a mere visit of friendship is too gross an absurdity to be sucked in by any but mere idiots.——As to the use which is made of the name of Ferdinand, there may be many reasons for that, which one cannot detail without being better acquainted with the characters and probable views of the leaders in the revolution. They, or, at least, some of them, may really wish for his return to the throne; and, if the Cortes be first restored and abuses reformed, there might be no solid objection to that restoration, which, besides, might prevent the country from being torn to pieces by the contests of ambitious leaders, some *one* of whom must, sooner or later, become the chief ruler; but, my opinion is, that, if Napoleon should, as there is some reason to hope, be successfully resisted, the name of Ferdinand will, gradually, be dropped, and that some one will be chosen in his stead. At the outset of a revolution all is bustle and chaos. Men do not know one another. But, difficulties and perils try the hearts; they harrow up all the layers of society; they bring the gems to light, and sink the baser soil.——The foolishest of all hopes (to say nothing of the wickedness of it) is, that Napoleon will be beaten, and that then the Spaniards will quietly return to a submission to their former despotism. There are peo-

ple enough, I am afraid, to entertain such a hope; but, if they reflected for one moment, they must be convinced, that it can never be accomplished; for, to resist Buonaparté will require such language, such sentiments, such discussions, such active measures as to *rank* and *property* as well as to warlike preparations, as will so completely annihilate the old despotism, that it cannot be restored. My fear is, and this is my greatest and almost only fear, that Napoleon, finding his views frustrated, will give way in time, and will send back Ferdinand before the revolution has proceeded to a wholesome length. If this should be the case, nothing of permanent utility will have been accomplished. Napoleon will have time to ripen his plans, to profit from past errors, and to make his next stroke sure; while the world will have the woeful example of a people again becoming slaves, after having buckled on their armour in the cause of freedom. For the taking of this crafty line of policy, the use which some of the patriots make of the name of Ferdinand affords Napoleon a plausible pretence. "All "I wished," he may say to the Spaniards, "was to see your government reformed. "If you prefer Ferdinand to Joseph, it "matters little to me." This bait would take at once, and we should have the mortification to see Spain very nearly as much under the influence of France as she now is, instead of seeing her free, independent, and the fast ally of England, which latter she naturally would be under a government and rulers *entirely new*. I hope there are no persons, who have, *underhand*, given advice to the Council at Seville to use the name of Ferdinand. Every one must, I think, perceive, how mischievous, in various ways, that use may probably prove; but, so afraid are some persons of the example of a *people* defending their country, and settling their own concerns, that there is no telling to what lengths they may go.—A correspondent, whose letter will be found in another part of this number, says, that we can assist the Spaniards *only* in the name of their king, and, of their king *Ferdinand* too, whom their old king has charged with *usurpation*. This is too absurd to merit an answer; but, the fact is, that, with some persons, there exists a dread, a very horror, of espousing the cause of any *people*, however identified that cause may be with our own. We have had almost all the kings and princes of Europe in alliance with us against France. Whom are they allied with *now?* And, are we still to adhere to the old system, and to resolve to make war only for kings, though those kings protest against the war, in the carrying on of which we are giving our assistance? This is the rock in our way, and if we get upon it, we shall assuredly split, and deserve to split, because we do it with our eyes open. Napoleon, once in secure possession of Spain, would easily keep us in a state of continual alarm. All hopes of resistance would be extinguished upon the continent of Europe, which united under one head, would and must harrass us in a way that we could not support for any number of years. So that the choice lies between that of seeing the Spanish people acquire real freedom, and that of living ourselves in protracted war and incessant alarm, with the fair chance of being finally subdued. I am greatly afraid, that there are some persons who would, without hesitation, prefer the latter; but I still hope, that their influence will not prevail. We are called upon to assist the cause of real freedom, and threatened with subjugation to a foreign power as the penalty of our refusing to obey that call. Nothing can be more fair, nothing more reasonable or just.——The correspondent, to whom I have referred here, denies, that, agreeably to the law of nations, Napoleon is the sovereign of Spain; because, says he, the cession of the crown and sovereignty was made without the consent of the people. So, then, as far as serves his purpose, the people are to be something. An old despotism is not to be destroyed without their consent formally expressed; but, they are nothing at all, when the question of who shall we make war for is to be decided. The whole o the royal family have abdicated the throne of Spain; they have transferred it to Napoleon; they have gone out of the country; and the last act of their former authority has been to command the people to obey Napoleon. I say that this is a vile fraud; I say, too, that a crown cannot be rightfully transferred without the consent of the people; but, as far as the royal family had any right or power, they have transferred it; as far as they could bind the people, they have bound them to Napoleon. So that, either he is the rightful sovereign of Spain, or there is no sovereign at all. I contend that the latter is the case, and, therefore, I am for *making war for the people*; but, my correspondent is still for making war for the king, as he calls him, and that, too, in direct disobedience of his commands. This is *loyalty* such as, I am persuaded, no man ever heard or read of before. This correspondent finds fault, too, of my title, or head, and, instead of "*Spanish Revolution*," he wishes me to

use the words, "*Spanish Patriotism.*" As if there was something horrible, and *contagious*, in the sound of revolution. Why what is it, what can it be, but a revolution? We talk of, and boast of our revolution in England; and why should we be scared at the idea of a revolution in Spain? The king and all the royal family, following his kingly example, have abdicated the throne of Spain; and, another royal family have been appointed in their stead; so that in Spain, the revolution is upon a much larger and more splendid scale than ours was in England. What has my correspondent to quarrel with then? He is not by himself, however, in this respect. There are more, who cannot bear to look this great event in the face. They are delighted that Buonaparte is likely to be beaten, or, at least, thwarted; but, they cannot bear the thought of the work being done by *a people* left to manage their own affairs. God forbid that any body but the people should be suffered to have a hand in it! Let the princes and the grandees and the ministers remain at Bayonne and drink and dance and sing and make long silly speeches and cuckold one another in peace and tranquillity. They are not wanted in Spain, where their lands and goods will very soon be applied to an excellent purpose. They have fed long enough upon the labour of others; and now the turn of those others is come.——The wise men in the city of London with a MR. QUIN (I wonder who or what he is?) at their head, have assembled, in Common Council, to vote an address to the king upon the subject of his declaration relative to Spain; and, it was, at last, resolved, "that a dutiful and loyal "address be presented to his majesty, ex- "pressive of their thanks for the great, "decisive, and magnanimous measures "adopted by his majesty, towards assisting "the glorious cause in which the Spanish "nation is engaged, to defeat the perfidy "and usurpation of the common enemy of "Europe."——The motion for this address was seconded by the celebrated pastry-cook, who keeps the large shop at Cornhill, whose name is *Birch*, and who, amongst other things, observed, that "the day on which "that court was assembled to deliberate "upon the motion under consideration, *was* "*the anniversary of the French Confedera-* "*tion (the 14th of July).* That day had "been at one time celebrated by a party in "this country, but it remained for that "court to consecrate that day by an unani- "mous vote in favour of the patriotic efforts "of the Spanish people, who had risen in "arms for the *most sacred duties*, to pre- "serve its *holy altars* from pollution."—— The pastry cook was rather unfortunate in his selection of facts as well as in the subject of his panegyric; for, having reminded his readers of the coincidence of dates, it remained for him, after his word "but," to show, that the work going on in Spain did not resemble the work that was going on in France, in 1791, *at which time*, Mr. Birch might have remembered, the *altars* in France remained unpolluted, and that no alteration in the affairs of the church had taken place, except that of somewhat curtailing the influence of the Pope, at which, one would suppose Mr. Birch must have been amongst the first to rejoice. But, this is not all, he prizes the doing in Spain so highly, for why? because the people have risen in arms "for the *most sacred* duties, to preserve *its holy altars* from pollution." Now, as MR. WAITHMAN reminded him, he was amongst the most vociferous in the city in favour of the ministers and against the Catholics of Ireland, whose *altars* must certainly be full as holy as those of the people of Spain. No, no, thou man of paste, it is not the altars of the Spaniards that thou carest for. You care no more for their altars than you do for their hovels; all you want of them is, that they may keep on fighting in such a way as to keep Buonaparté and his armies from coming hither.——Upon the subject of the motion, MR. WAITHMAN, who is a very sensible and very worthy man, said: "that, agreeing heartily as he did in "the end of the motion, he disapproved "altogether of the mode in which it was to "be attained. He regretted that parlia- "ment had separated without any declara- "tion of its feelings with respect to the "cause of Spain. But it was decidedly his "opinion, that the course which ought to "be pursued in that assembly was, not by "address to his majesty, *but by a declara-* "*tion of their sympathy in the Spanish* "*cause, and their determination to support* "*any measures necessary to afford them* "*effectual assistance.* A worthy friend "near him (Mr. Goodbehere) had an "amendment to offer, which he was con- "fident would attain the end of the mover "of the address, in a way more desirable "than by his motion. He was an enemy "to addresses, because under the semblance "of a mark of attachment to the sovereign, "they amounted indirectly to an approba- "tion of the conduct of ministers. The "worthy alderman had alluded to the cele- "bration of the anniversary of the destruc- "tion of the Bastile. He could not see "any distinction between the cause of the

" people of France at that period, and the " struggle of the people of Spain, for their " independence and liberty in the present " instance; and if the people had been " then suffered to pursue their object " without external interference, a great " part of the calamities which had since " befallen Europe, would have been pre- " vented, as well as the vast effusion " of blood and treasure which had since " taken place." There was no answering this. On the 14th of July, 1791, I think it was, the cause of the French was so much like what the cause of the Spaniards now is, that it would be very difficult to make a distinction. The Spaniards are fighting against foreign invaders, and for a reform of abuses. So were the French, at the out-set of their revolution; and, it is truly worthy of remark, that we who fought against the French, should now be fighting for the Spanish people.—There was one DIXON, who objected to an amendment, upon the plan of Mr. Waithman, because it was *not constitutional* for the assembly to convey its sentiments to the public, in any other way than in an address to the throne, and hinted at certain motives, by which Mr. Waithman and his friends were actuated. To this Mr. Waithman replied, " that as motives had been " personally imputed to him, he would " have been glad that the motives had been " mentioned. It had always been his wish, " as it would through life, that his motives " should be not only apparent, but publicly " known. As the imputed motives had " not been mentioned, he should state some " motives by which he had not been influ- " enced. He had not written to lord Gren- " ville *for a living for one of his sons*, nor " had he obtained from the present ad- " ministration *places for two other sons*." Whence it appears, that the loyalty of the said DIXON is much about of the same sort as that which passes current at Whitehall. These are valuable anecdotes. They serve to explain the conduct of men. What a shocking thing it is to reflect, that there is scarcely a living soul, however contemptible, that appears upon the public stage, with loyalty in his mouth, who has not an eye upon the taxes!——Mr. QUIN, too, whose voice and manner resemble those of an itinerant hero of the buskin, has, I dare be sworn, an eye towards the taxes, or, at least, towards knighthood; which latter he may probably obtain by way of augmenting the amount of his claim to the former; for he will hardly, like the late worthy and deeply regretted Mr. Phillips, get himself knighted for the mere *honour* of the thing.——Verily, if the poor Spaniards have nothing better to support them, than the friendship, or rather, empty applause of these candidates for place and for city nobility, their cause is in a desperate way. Not a word of *sympathy* is expressed; not a *penny* is proposed to be raised; nor is the king advised to do any thing in behalf of that cause. Mr. QUIN talked about *freedom*, but it was easy to perceive what sort of freedom he meant. Not a word did he say about the restoration of the *Cortes*, or the *reform of abuses*. Not a word of censure upon the cowardice and treachery of the late rulers of Spain: all was mere mouthing invective against Buonaparté; and this, I am sorry to say it, is all that one can get from any of those, who are known for adherents of the ministry. But, there is *another city*, from the people of which, were they to assemble, I should expect better things. They, too, might address the king, and, through that channel, they might express their views of what is going on in Spain. To *them* the independent part of the nation would listen, and, like bread cast upon the waters, the effects of their address might appear again after many days. It is of great consequence, that now, at the outset of this great change in the affairs of Europe, the people of England should be rightly informed of its causes, and of the principles by which the movers are actuated. If the Spaniards should be successful, that success cannot fail to be felt here; but, for it to produce its full effect, the people must begin betimes to think rightly as to *the causes* which led to it.

Botley, 21st July, 1808.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S LETTER TO MR. WHITBREAD ON THE AFFAIRS OF SPAIN.

Enfield, July 15, 1808.

DEAR SIR;—It is said to have been the advice of Lord Mansfield to a person appointed to a judicial situation abroad, to decide causes to the best of his judgment, but never to give reasons in support of his decisions. When you deprecated the discussion brought forward by Mr. Sheridan, respecting the resistance rising in Spain to the domination of Napoleon, your forming an erroneous opinion on the prudence or imprudence of that discussion, was of little consequence; and few would have kept in their minds any recollection of an error, supposing you to have committed one, had you not written a book to explain your conduct and sentiments. There being in this proceeding a formal appeal to the public, if no part of your book be replied to, you may imagine it unanswerable; and so be con-

firmed in error, if into any you have fallen. It is by friendly disputation on shades of difference, that well-intentioned men come to be of one mind. To speak mine plainly, I think you have been wrong both in your conduct and your reasoning. A part of Spain (a country open to us on three sides) had drawn its sword upon Napoleon, had flung the scabbard in his face, and had sent its deputies to England. What knowledge beyond this, was wanting to an eloquent member of parliament, for fanning the flame of Spanish patriotism, and at the same time touching generally on the principles which ought to govern ministers in their co-operations with these new allies? Was not this an occasion to have been seized on with avidity, for delivering those sentiments which the English constitution so eminently teaches, for the recovery of liberty, and for the defence of a country against invaders? And nothing, surely, was more easy, than to have expressed an admiration of Spanish virtue, and an approbation of affording every practicable assistance, without calling on ministers for unnecessary explanations. But, on account of the unfitness of calling for disclosures, you deprecated, (unadvisedly as I think) all mention of the subject in parliament; and in the explanation since given of your conduct and motives, (in your letter to Lord Holland) you appear to me not to have mended your case. Your original coldness no argument can teach me to approve. If it were a force upon your own feelings for liberty, I cannot understand it. Not even in the view of the most frigid caution, does it seem to have any warrant. In the same breath that you convey to us how little confidence you have in ministers, as "incapable of conducting to "a happy issue the efforts of a great people, "just entering upon a struggle against "tyranny and oppression," you give it as your opinion, that those ministers, merely because of their superior intelligence from Spain, were "those only who"—"could "judge of the steps fit to be taken" Nay, you hold this to be "a case in which the "servants of the crown ought to be left "perfectly free"—"to form and execute "their own designs;" for it seems, "they "are of the king's appointment: to them "the interests of the kingdom are confi-"ded."—And was not the late minister of Spain, the Prince of the Peace, of the king's appointment? were not to him "the "interests of the kingdom" of Spain confided? Was not a royal appointment in Spain, as sacred as a royal appointment in England? Who could doubt the wisdom of Charles the IV, more than that of George the III.?—By the majority of the grandees and courtiers, the Prince of the Peace was accordingly left "perfectly free"—"to "form and execute his own designs;" until those designs were perfected at Bayonne, in the royal family and the whole court being in the clutches of the treacherous Napoleon; the capital and strong holds of the country being occupied by French armies; and Spain being reduced to the alternative, of either receiving the Corsican yoke, or shedding rivers of blood to preserve her independence. Blessed fruit of the sacredness of a royal appointment and of implicit confidence in a minister!

That a minister was "of the king's ap-"pointment," used to be the very reason, why implicit confidence was *not* to be given him, and why the jealous and vigilant eye of parliament was to be kept on all his motions. But we have of late learned new maxims of government. The "king" appoints. The constitutional watchmen of the state are therefore to sit with seals on their lips. Or, if any thing is to be uttered, it is "confidence, confidence, confidence." This new doctrine, I allow, is perfectly in harmony with a House of Commons having numerous placemen; with sinecure offices; as well as with universal jobs and abuses, and the superadded expense of commissioners in every department, who bring not to justice a single peculator. The creed I know is become extremely fashionable among modern statesmen, whether in or out of power; as those who are out, hope in time to get in. That it is a creed extremely offensive to the people, matters not. As ministers are "of the king's appointment," the opinion of the people is little cared for. It is therefore perfectly natural, that the people should as little care who are ministers. And so things must continue, until a party shall rise who shall be advocates for the whole constitution, and nothing but the constitution. Let us hope that day is not far distant.

You are still, Sir, it seems, an advocate for offering peace to the French Emperor; but you have not yet shewn us the basis on which a peace can be concluded with safety. Unless you can do this, I confess, Sir, that I can allow to your opinion but little weight. Have you well contemplated the recent conduct of this French Emperor towards Spain, while she was in his alliance, and fighting by his side? After you shall have so done, then tell us what you should think of the judgment of a Spanish statesman, who, before *the national Cortes were restored, and*

the Spanish population completely armed and trained to defensive war, should "now" advise the governing powers of his country, to "commence a negociation with the ene-"my, on a footing of equality, for the "termination of hostilities on terms of "equality and honour?" Are you aware, Sir, how much a man implicates himself with the instruments of despotism, who, in calling for peace, demands not at the same time those accompaniments, by which alone his country can have freedom? If your peace is not to be guaranteed by independence in the House of Commons, and by arms in the hands of the people on the true principles of our constitution, how is it to keep Napoleon out of England when he shall choose to enter it? Or how, if he should enter it, will the condition of England be superior to that of Spain, under the corrupt and infamous government, which so lately, as the last act of its baseness and atrocity, sold her to the Corsican? These questions, Sir, I put to you as a Whig—as a man professing a regard for liberty—as one who occasionally talks of the constitution—as once a member of "the "society of the Friends of the People asso-"ciated for the purpose of obtaining a Par-"liamentary Reform."—While "the eman-"cipation of Spain, the enthronement of "Ferdinand VII, and the amelioration of "the government of that country, through "the means of the legitimate organ of "their Cortes, or any other of their own "choosing," as well as "the freedom of "the Spanish royal family," are it seems to be among the very objects of your proposed negociation for peace, how, in God's name, has it happened, that not a single thought has been bestowed on those things which on our account ought to be the accompaniments of Peace? To question you: but, had you strenuously insisted on these English objects, "is there a statesman who could doubt of "their propriety, of their justice, of their "honour?" Could a Windham, a Grenville, or a Grey have condemned you? Could a Castlereagh or a Hawkesbury have reproved you? "If rejected, is there a "free spirit in the universe that would not "join in applauding your honesty and "wisdom?"

I have now, Sir, for the hundredth time, explained "my views, and I am desirous "they should be known. I may be deem-"ed romantic for entertaining them. But "I trust that those who may treat me as "chimerical or absurd"—those especially who class themselves among the friends of liberty and the constitution—will, for the benefit of their country, explain the grounds on which they claim to be considered as better practical politicians.

Self-deceit is not always merely personal; we are equally subject to this foible when we put ourselves in the place of our nation. When, therefore, we would know what, in the making of a peace is necessary to national safety, we ought not only to foresee the extremity to which misgovernment of any kind is leading us, but to contemplate also the dangers to which, after peace shall be made, we shall still be exposed, unless that peace have the *accompaniments* necessary to national health and vigour in full perfection. As, after what has passed, it is evident that Spain, in peace, can have no safety, unless her renovated Cortes shall insure to her a reformed government; and unless her people shall become an armed nation, organized for crushing an invader, whatever his force, and how sudden soever his coming; so, in our own case, (who are only separated from France by a channel, as easily passed as the Pyrennean mountains) I beseech you, Sir, if you would not pass for an unreflecting, a temporizing, or a mere party statesman, duly to estimate the value of a proposition for peace, without those accompaniments, of a reformed parliament and armed safety, by which alone a peace can yield the fruits of peace.

So wide indeed am I from what appears to be your opinion, that, in my judgement, the minister who should negociate a peace with Napoleon, and at the same time neglect a renovation of our Commons House of Parliament and of our Posse Comitatus—the shield and the spear of the constitution—would richly deserve to lose his head. I beg I may be clearly understood. I protest against all substitutions whatever, in place of that system of arming which you must know to be *prescribed* by the constitution of our country, agreeably to the voice of nature, and the principles of human liberty. I equally object to the dexterity of a Dundas, to the dictation of a Pitt, to the artifice of a Yorke, to the fancy of a Windham, and to the project of a Castlereagh, who, each in his turn, as if the constitution were not good enough, or else too good for him, has accordingly, in respect of arming, substituted for that constitution some conceit of his own. By the parliament, as if the mere creature of every succeeding minister, these ephemeral maggots of the day have been successively and regularly preferred to the constitutional system. How many more of these inventions—all of them without exception hostile to our liberties—we are yet for our

punishment doomed to number, no human sagacity can divine.

Keep your eye, Sir, upon Spain; that faithful mirror in which we may see in its true light, the value of that return to our constitution which has been so much despised and so long neglected. To what *does* Spain, to what *can* she resort, in the hour of her extremity, but to a renovated Cortes and an armed population? If she fall in the attempt, it can only be, *because she reformed, and armed too late.* And, if she should fall, we know whose harness, for the final conflict, must be next buckled on.

I remain, dear Sir, your well-wisher,

J. CARTWRIGHT.

SPANISH REVOLUTION.

SIR,—In your last number [Vol. XIII. p. 1004], you have laid it down as a maxim, that "a sovereignty ceded is a sovereignty rightfully possessed;" and you challenge the "sticklers for the law of nations," to shew how it is that Buonaparté is not, at this moment, the rightful sovereign of Spain. To me it appears, that if Buonaparté, at this moment, holds the sovereignty of Spain by any tenure, it is by a tenure which all laws both individual and national, not only do not sanction, but positively reprobate. In private property no man can cede his right of inheritance, or possession. This right belongs not to him exclusively, but to his family. He is a mere life-renter. From his ancestors his inheritance was acquired, and to his own posterity it must be faithfully transmitted.—But this is a law, Sir, precise as it is, which applies not only to the transmission of the private property of individuals, but also to the transmission of crowns and sceptres, in as far as sovereigns are but individuals, and mere men, subject to the laws of nature, and to the dictates of common sense. There is however, besides, something still stronger which always will, and ought to have a very powerful effect upon the assignation of sovereignties; and independent of which no sovereignty can be held, but by the violent hand of usurpation, or conquest. I mean, the will and voice of the people. What is a sovereign but the delegate of his subjects, to whom, according to the nature of the government, is entrusted the management of the public affairs, and the furtherance of the laws of the nation? It is from his subjects that every ruler derives his authority; and, without their approbation and concurrence, his power and title can no longer exist. Upon this irrefragable principle, no monarch can, from his private whim, without the sanction of his subjects, or, rather, his constituents, pretend to cede his sovereignty to another person, out of his family. He may, perhaps, resign it in favour of his son, or lineal and legal successor, as Charles V. did in favour of his son Ferdinand, because he has, in a manner, the virtual consent of his subjects for so doing, from their allegiance to an hereditary sovereignty; but to dispone it to a stranger is an inconsistency, an impossibility; and, excuse me Sir, for saying, that it appears an absurdity to maintain that a tenure flowing from such a source, constitutes a good, and unimpeachable right to a great kingdom.—Napoleon, therefore, Sir, is worse than usurper of the Spanish sovereignty, and ought to be expelled by every mode of annoyance: but, you say, [p. 999] "our ministry may look upon the re-"storation of the monarchy, and the con-"tinuance of the government, of the ranks, "and of the orders in Spain, as the price "of our aiding this expulsion;" and that "were you a Spaniard, rather than receive "their aid upon such conditions, you "would, after using all the means in your "own power to keep us out, admit Na-"poleon and his government!!!" Here either hurry or enthusiasm has deprived you of the power of discriminating bad from worse, and worse from worst. But admitting that the government of Spain has been as bad as you represent it, still I say that the restoration of it, or of the family at the head of it, is the only object for this country assisting the Spanish patriots. Changes of government are always dangerous, and a change great and violent, such as that of Spain, at present, would be, which tries to derange or to anticipate the uniform sequence of events, invariably proves fatal. What! because an accidental abdication of their sovereign has taken place, either from his own weakness or the intrigues of another, are the Spaniards to attempt a change of government at present, when France is ready to exterminate them from the pale of Europe? Such an attempt would be folly, which leads to perdition. No: this is not the season for such national reformation. However fair the fabric, the whole mass will crumble to pieces in a moment, unless its foundation be good; and the foundation cannot be laid till the flood has subsided, when the sand of corruption may be safely cleared away, and the solid rock, upon which improvement may be erected, searched for, and laid bare. It ought to be the boast and the stimulus of every Spanish Patriot,—if our government is bad, let the present occurrence rouse us reasonably to

work for its improvement when the proper season arrives; but, bad as it may be, rather than meanly accept of the insidious offers of our enemies, we will fight for it to the last drop of our blood, merely because it is our own.——But, Sir, besides this consideration, the only object for our affording assistance to the Spanish Patriots ought to be the establishment of the old royal family on the throne of Spain, because this is the only definite object which they can at present fight for. It is impossible that the Spaniards can have formed any distinct idea of an improved government, supposing this were the proper season for carrying it into execution: and, this being the case, all our aid would serve only to weaken ourselves; and Buonaparté would say as a certain rebellious Scotch nobleman said of old, when the Court of Scotland was rent by contending factions, that "he is happy to see the "parties hacking and hewing each other, "as he will be able to take possession of "the government when they themselves "have destroyed each other."—Moreover, it is contrary to sound policy for us to give "aid to shake off the yoke of both sorts of "tyranny." We have nothing to do whether the Spaniards are pillaged, robbed, gagged, imprisoned, &c. I, for instance, have much occasion to dictate to, and assist you in managing the private matters of your own family; for example, to advise you not to dig your own garden. What is oppression to one, is pleasure to another. One nation may assist another against the common enemy; but the practice of interfering in the regulation of internal government, terminates always in the detriment, or ruin, either of the assisting, or of the assisted.—The contrary is incompatible with the selfishness of man. The ancient Britons, by calling in the Saxons and Normans to assist them in organizing their legislature, became the slaves of their assistants: and we, who most imprudently interfered in the French revolution, have raised up an empire, which now threatens our very existence. "To "endeavour to induce the people of Spain "to shed their blood for the sake of the "Bourbon family, would be an act [you "say, p. 1002] of unparalleled insolence." And can you call the Prince of Asturias a coward after his publishing the following proclamation?—"Noble Asturians! I am "surrounded on every side, and a victim of "the most cruel perfidy. You once saved "Spain in worse circumstances. At pre-"sent a prisoner, I do not ask of you the "crown; but entreat of you to form a re-"gular plan with the neighbouring pro-"vinces for the repulsion of a foreign yoke "and the redemption of your liberties, by "the destruction of the treacherous foe who "deprives of his right your unfortunate "Prince Ferdinand. Bayonne, May 8." But why did he not "stay to help," you add. The tenour of the above proclamation shews that he had been carried away by force. Is there any thing more probable? Independent of the proclamation, and of every thing else, we are bound in charity and in reason to believe so, till informed positively of the contrary. Even yet we know nothing about all the diabolical schemes and proceedings by which the deposition of the King of Spain has been effected. It is so unnatural, and so unlike all transactions of that sort, that he must be very credulous indeed who believes that it has taken place without irresistible compulsion.—Is the Prince of Asturias, then, to be held a "stinking coward?" And because you conclude on such grounds, that he is so, are his subjects not to fight for him? Are the representatives of the House of Bourbon, the most ancient, and most illustrious family in Europe, to be made "kennel-sweepers?" Even to think so in the present posture of things, excuse me, Sir, for saying, argues what I must forbear to name.—Families are all alike: this generation is good, and the next is bad. But when a government is to be entrusted to a monarch, there can be no question whether his family be ancient or upstart; for the former is respected by the wise and revered by the vulgar, and the latter is almost constantly disrespected and hated by all.—This brings to my recollection Mr. Hume's Discourses on the Protestant Succession, and the Idea of a perfect Commonwealth, recommending which to your attentive perusal, I remain, Sir, your reader and well-wisher,—J. B. Scoto-Britannus.—*Edinburgh, 30th June*, 1808.—P. S. I dislike the title you have given to this subject of "Spanish Revolution;" and, therefore, beg leave to suggest "Spanish Patriotism."

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Cuba.——*Salvador José de Muroy Salazar, Marquis of Someruelos, President, Governor, and Captain-General, &c.—To the most loyal, brave and gallant Inhabitants of the Island of Cuba.—Dated Havannah, Jan. 27*, 1808.

The experience and knowledge I have acquired in nine years that I have held my present command, have inspired me with the most pleasing confidence in your loyalty to the King, inherited from your ancestors,

in your love of your country, and in your intrepid gallantry.—This confidence, and my just consideration for citizens so worthy, have hitherto prevented me from adopting any other means of defence than that of forming plans well combined, thus avoiding all expense, molestations, and burdens that did not appear to me absolutely necessary, being very unwilling to increase the distresses you suffer in consequence of the present war.—But as the fury and desperation of the common enemy daily give additional proof of a desire to desolate all nations, without sparing even his allies, the time is come when prudence dictates to put ourselves in a more respectable state of defence, that your zeal and enthusiasm in making preparations to repel his attacks, and disconcert his enterprizes, may remind him of the discomfiture which, in July, 1807, your bravery made him suffer in the ungarrisoned city of Baraçoa, and warn him that it is vain for him to imagine that he can gather laurels in the fields of Cuba, whose inhabitants yield neither in valour nor in energy to the heroic defenders of Buenos Ayres.—I therefore exhort you, with all the effusion of my heart, to bear in mind that you are menaced in the security of your homes, the safety of your wives, your children, and aged parents, the sanctity of your religion, and the felicity of living under a mild and benign government, ever attentive to your welfare, and to let these considerations weigh with you in determining how far it may be necessary to extend your vigilance, and add to your sacrifices, to avert such calamities, ever mindful that the British flag is, cupidity and pale envy of the prosperity of all those who were not born in that incendiary island, and that your laborious application to agriculture, on a soil fertile in rich productions, is an unpardonable offence in the moral code of the British government.—Remember that this enemy, totally disregarding the laws of humanity and the system of warfare adopted by civilised nations, in which the victors conquer by valour and generosity, commenced the present war by perpetrating, in the midst of peace, an act of perfidy and piracy unprecedented, except in the annals of England. I allude to the capture of our four frigates in distress, with several other vessels, and the murder of the brave Spaniards who attempted to defend them; as the highway robber surprises the unsuspecting traveller, to despoil him of his property, and bereave him of life; and imitating this example, the satellites of England have committed on your coasts the horrid barbarities of pillage and burning, carrying off even the slaves of your plantations, as was witnessed in Bahiabonda and in other parts, and lately happened in Arcos de Canasi.—Engrave these deeds on your hearts, and on those of your children, that they may serve to stimulate your animosity and just vengeance; but yet without ever belying the character of Spanish humanity and generosity, or forgetting that, as the good faith of the Spaniards has long been proverbial, so has the perfidy of the English been known and detested from remote ages, and, accordingly, four hundred years ago, Gutierre Diez de Games, in the Chronicle of Count D. Pedro Nino, wrote thus: "as the English are different from, and contrary to, all other nations of Christians, they bear no love to any nation."—To arms, to arms, at the call of your King, your country, and your well being, that you may not fall under the dominion of a government so odious and so inhuman. Your safety and security are in your own hands, and depend solely on your will; for your resources, animated with the spirit of union, and directed by wisdom, are not to be overcome by the power of your enemy.—Repair then to your standards, with the enthusiasm and confidence with which you ought to be inspired, by motives so powerful, and let there be no necessity for coercive authority.—Imitate the bravery and intrepidity of the inhabitants of the shores of the River of Plate, who, suspending their agricultural labours to exercise themselves in the use of arms, have saved their country, secured themselves from the desolation which threatened them, and have covered themselves with immortal glory, to the eternal honour of the Spanish nation.—Recollect, in a word, that your progenitors were, at one time, the terror of the English, and be assured that the false valour of mercenary banditti, in the garb of disciplined troops, is not to be compared with, and much less can it triumph over, the noble sentiments with which I have the pleasure to see you animated; for this very reason that the armed criminal is cowed at the unarmed voice of justice.—THE MARQUIS OF SOMERUELOS.——*Havannah, Jan.* 27, 1808.

POPEDOM.——*Proclamation of Napoleon relative to the Possessions of the Pope.—Dated Ancona,* 11 *May,* 1808.

Napoleon, by the Grace of God and by the Constitution, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Rhenish Confederacy, considering that the present sovereign of Rome has constantly refused to declare war against the English, and to co-

operate with the kingdoms of Italy and Naples for the protection of the Italian peninsula; that the interest of the two kingdoms, and the relative situation of Italy and Naples, require that their communication should be interrupted by no hostile power; that the gift of the lands which compose the Ecclesiastical States was made by our illustrious predecessor Charlemagne, for the benefit of christendom, but not for the succour of the enemies of our holy religion; therefore have we, upon consideration of the demand for passports, made by the Romish ambassador at our court, on the 8th of March, decreed, and do decree, as follows: [Here follow the different articles of the decree, uniting the provinces of the Papal territory to the kingdom of Italy, and presenting various local regulations as to their government.]—In pursuance of a second decree, all cardinals, prelates, and other officers of the Romish court, born in the kingdom of Italy, must retire to the place of their birth before the 5th of June, on pain of forfeiting their goods.

FRANCE'S NAVAL PROJECTS. 24th May, 1808.

On the 24th May, the Prince Arch-Chancellor, presiding in the sitting of the senate, appointed the state-councellor, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely minister of state, to lay before them the grounds of a *senatus consultum*, for uniting Tuscany with the French empire; and M. Semonville spoke in the name of the commission of the senate, which unanimously voted for this incorporation. The following is a summary of the assigned grounds:—The whole coast of the Mediterranean Sea must form a part of the French territory of the great empire. The regions, the coast adjoining to the Adriatic, are united with the kingdom of Italy; all those which lie along the Mediterranean, which are adjacent to our territory, must be united with the empire of France. From Leghorn to Toulon, to Genoa, to the department of Corsica, is not farther than from Leghorn to Milan. The commerce of the Mediterranean, whatever may be the opposition of the tyrant of the seas, shall be necessarily under the influence of France.—The very same first principles in consequence of which Genoa was incorporated with France rather than with the kingdom of Italy, also require that Leghorn be made a part of that empire. The kingdom of Naples, which lies both on the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, constitutes a distinct kingdom, subject, however, to the same federative system, and to the same state policy.—The port of Leghorn has given constant reason of complaint to France. That port, appertaining to a territory governed by a weak prince, had fallen under the influence of England, and was become one of the principal inlets for her commerce. In different instances, without wishing to violate the neutrality of the sovereign of Tuscany, it became necessary for divisions of French troops to enter Leghorn, to confiscate the English merchandize there. These violations of territory, however necessary, are always disagreeable; and since Leghorn cannot be under the influence of France and England at the same time, it must become a part of France. Besides, Leghorn and the Tuscan territory produces sailors for the extension of our marine; through its whole extent ship building is carried on, and in the same proportion must the means be increased of providing seamen for manning them. If as of late a squadron was created at Toulon, as if by a miracle, and if contrary to the ideas of all those who are acquainted with the sea service, we found means to equip a numerous squadron, which Admiral Gantheaume commanded with so much ability, and for which he obtained so much renown, by the skilful manœuvres by which he frustrated the plans of the enemy—which having supplied with men, provisions, and warlike stores, Corfu, the key of the Adriatic, menaced by an expedition, already on its way, thus rendered fruitless, and which, on its returning voyage, capturing many considerable prizes, braved all storms, and exercised the crews during a difficult voyage of three months—if all these advantages have been gained, they must be partly ascribed to the incorporation of Genoa, which numbers many of her sons among the good seamen of that squadron.—The sons of the Arno are invited to the glory, his majesty having decreed that Spezzia shall be a military port: the docks, the works of the arsenal, and the forts, both on the sea and land side, are already marked out, and before the end of the present year, six ships of two or three decks shall be put upon the stocks.—It would not be proper to establish such considerable works at the extremities of the empire, if a foreign power were placed at the very gates of that arsenal. Spezzia shall become a second Toulon in the Mediterranean; on the whole coast there abound iron, timber, provisions, and useful hands; the provisions, the iron, and the men surrendered up, must become French. France and the continent, which are desirous of restoring the balance of power on the ocean, have the self same interest in the prosperity of the new maritime depart-

ment of Spezzia. The incorporation of Tuscany is a necessary consequence of that grand plan.—This union is also the interest of Tuscany, which, under the sway of its little princes, was governed without system, without vigour, and was perpetually infested by the Barbary powers. Men can no longer be governed in a capricious and fantastic manner. There must be a certain rule, the government of the law, protected by a prince sufficiently great and elevated above the passions of men, and inflexible, as the law is necessary for this purpose. The time indeed is passed, in which it was believed that people were made for kings, not kings for people.—Lands, pastures, and forests may become property, but no person can possess a kingdom as if it were a farm. These disastrous consequences can no longer take place in great states. It is in vain then that objections are made to the great extention of the empire; the communication by land, now that neither Alps nor Appenines oppose it, is as easy from Leghorn to Paris, as from Paris to Nice. It has been the policy of European states to subdue the most distant countries, in order to obtain new commercial and maritime resources; why then should we neglect those resources and acquisitions which are so valuable to us? The territory of the Medicis, the country of the sciences, and the arts, must form an immediate part of the French empire.—The dukedom of Urbino, Camerino, and the Mark of Ancona, lying on the coast of the Adriatic fall under the influence of Venice and must necessarily be united with the kingdom of Italy. This is also accomplished, and the considerable works in the port of Ancona will afford the opportunity of fitting out their ten sail of the line, to secure the freedom of the Adriatic sea, of which Ancona shall be the harbour, and Venice the naval arsenal. Before the end of this year five sail of the line shall be lying in the roads of Ancona, in that dangerous sea, which to the English presents only hostile shores, and where they will be obliged to maintain six ships of the line, if they attempt to counterbalance our power. No, the war shall not be eternal, in spite of the blind fury which cherishes that inhuman and senseless principle in the cabinet of London. Every where French squadrons are forming, and our naval power in the Scheldt is already considerable. In a few days there will be in the roads of Flushing and Antwerp a fleet of thirty sail of the line, that on the coast of Britanny will be still stronger.—Besides that, we have the allied Russian squadron at Lisbon, where there are already a division of several new ships of the line, in the best state, which the rapid advance of the army under gen. Junot placed in our hands.—The events in Spain have converted a declining and badly conducted monarchy into a constitutional and energetic government, the dock-yards at Cadiz, Ferrol, and Carthagena have felt this already. Toulon, Spezzia, Venice, all the resources forthcoming from Holland, Spain, and Italy, are in operation, we must have ships, and these last named countries have no deficiency either of iron, or of timber and hemp, for building or rigging them—A decree has then issued from the emperor for the incorporation of Tuscany, on the principle of the necessity for completing the system of the great empire, and for rendering the naval administration of France harmonious throughout all the members of the great confederacy. Without the incorporation of Tuscany, there can be no immediate communication with Naples, and our relations could not be maintained with her, but through the medium of states subsisting under other governments, from which it might be feared that the guidance and influence might be lost which must be exercised towards such states, to place the coasts and sailors in a state of opposition to the common enemy.—The following is the decree of the senate, passed in consequence of this exposition:—Art. 1. The dukedoms of Parma and Placentia are united to the French empire, under the name of the department of the Taro; they shall form an inseparable indivisible portion of the French territory, from the period of the notification of the present senatus consultum.—2. The states of Tuscany are united to the French empire under the name of the department of the Arno, the department of the Mediterranean, and the department of the Ombrona. They shall form an indivisible portion of the French empire, from the period of the notification of the present decree.—3. The laws which govern the French empire shall, in the departments of the Arno, the Mediterranean, and the Ombrona, be made public before 1st January, 1809, the period from which the constitutional government for these departments shall take its commencement.—4. The department of the Taro, and that of the Arno, shall each have six deputies in the legislative body, the department of the Mediterranean three, and the department of the Ombrona three; which will raise the number of the members of that body to 342.—5. The deputies of the department of the Taro shall be chosen and named without delay and shall enter the legislative body before the sitting of 1808.—6. The

deputies of the departments of the Arno, of the Mediterranean, and of the Ombrona, shall enter the legislative body before the session of 1809, &c.

AUSTRIA.—*Proclamation for arming the People.—9th June*, 1808.

We, Francis I. by the grace of God, Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, Bohemia, Galicia, and Lodomeria, &c. &c. Archduke of Austria, &c. &c.—We have discovered to our beloved subjects, in our letters patent, of the 12th ult. our design attending the organization of the reserves, namely, the defence of the monarchy, which is to be founded on such means as to afford the possibility of facilitating the finances of state by a reduction of the regular army.—In this design we have found it good to organize a national levy-en-masse, tending to defend the country.—We do, for this end, choose a period when we are in friendly relation with all the powers of the continent—for only then, if such measures are ripely adopted, and cemented by time, can success be expected from them, in case they should become needful.—To execute these measures, we have appointed plenipotentaries, whose knowledge, zeal, and attachment to our person and the state, have been repeatedly tried, viz.—For Austria, Carniola, Carinthia, Stiria, Triest, and Saltsburgh, our aulic commissioner, count Von Saurau.—For Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, our serene cousin, his royal highness the archduke Ferdinand, with our upper burgrave, Von Wallis and governor count Lazansky.—For lower Austria, and Austria on the Enis, our serene cousin, his royal highness the archduke Maximilian, with the president count Von Bissengen and baron Von Hackelberg.—For Galicia, our general of cavalry, count Von Bellegarde, and the vice-president of government, count Von Wurmser. They have received definitive instruction as to the manner and time of execution, and will take the other requisite measures accordingly.—We expect our beloved subjects, who have always shewn in a most laudable manner their unshaken devotion and fidelity towards us, will acknowledge in that regulation the full measure of our paternal designs, and assist to carry them into effect with all their might, as a measure inseparable from their welfare. The activity and prudence displayed in this business shall obtain our special approbation, and recommend them who shall laudably distinguish themselves in this particular.—Given in our capital and place of residence, Vienna, June 9th, in the year 1808, and of our reign, the eighth year.—FRANCIS.—ALOYS, count Von Ugarte, first chancellor.—JOSEPH, baron Vonder Mark.—JOSEPH CHARLES, count of Diedrichtein.—JOSEPH, baron Von Kielmansegge.

AUSTRIA.—*At Vienna the following Proclamation has been affixed in the public places by the order and in the name of his Majesty.*

His majesty has not heard without the greatest displeasure, that the evil-disposed have endeavoured, with all their might, to spread disquieting reports concerning the insecurity of the external peace and apprehension of a new war. These reports are merely the result of an insatiable spirit of gambling. His majesty is in the most amicable relations with all the powers of Europe; but he will not suffer the public peace to be interrupted, without punishment, by the avarice of a few persons. and has, in consequence, ordered that search should be made for the authors and disseminators of such false reports; having sufficient confidence in the body of merchants, to trust that they will inform a special commission, which has been established for that special purpose, all they are acquainted with concerning the circulators of the current reports and the artifices they employ.—Commissioners were appointed by the government, who were to watch daily in the exchange, against the stock-jobbers, and the spreaders of false reports.

PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION.—*Edict and Proclamation, issued at Oporto, 20th June*, 1808.

In the name of the Prince Regent of Portugal, the junta of the supreme government of the city of Oporto makes known unto all the subjects of the said prince, that the French government is entirely exterminated from this country, and the royal authority of our legitimate sovereign is restored, which will be exercised fully and independently by the above-mentioned junta, until the government established in this kingdom, by his royal highness shall be restored; in consequence of which the said junta order that his royal highness shall be proclaimed, and his royal arms be displayed and respected as they always have been, and shall be; and that all constituted authorities shall act conformably, publishing all their orders in the name of his royal highness.—The BISHOP, President, and Generalissimo, given at Oporto, 19th June, 1808.

EDICT.

The provisional council of the government of Oporto, invites the veteran soldiers, to whatever regiment of the line they may

belong, to unite with the army of this province, that is, to enter into the ranks with the two regiments of the garrison of this city, which are in the course of organization: and to each man, by way of remuneration, are promised a month's pay, and a daily allowance of four vinteins, with clothing, &c. This same pay will be allotted to all the soldiers now on service, as well as those who will join the same regiments, as far as circumstances will permit this extraordinary pay. Likewise the militia will have the same advantages.—The BISHOP, President and Governor.

PROCLAMATION.

Portuguese!—By Heaven, and by Jesus Christ!—You have a governor who loves you, who is anxious for your happiness, and who will exert himself to obtain it. What avail your turbulence, your excesses, your want of that order and subordination to which he would conduct you, anxious to preserve your lives? What opportunities have you not lost, of which you ought to have availed yourselves against the enemy, since you have neglected your own resources? What signals do you not exhibit to the enemy, that he may entrap and surprise you!—Portuguese! Listen to one who loves you. The French intend to strike a blow, fatal to you, and you are lost if you are guilty of insubordination, or disregard the councils of your governor. Your firing, your beat of drum, your bells, give to your enemies the knowledge of where you are, where your force, and where your weakness. From your enemy conceal your power, that you may strike the blow with the more success; and that you may encounter him when he least expects your approach. By these means you may conquer him. Subject yourselves to your superiors in all and through all, if you are desirous of victory; otherwise, be assured you will meet only disgrace. From necessity, after this manner, the mighty ball yields to vigilance, dexterity, and the little cloak. By whatever is sacred in heaven, or in earth, by the sacred name of Jesus Christ, the governor implores you, that you maintain subjection to your chiefs, conforming to the regulations of your respective companies. If you are ordered to a post, there you ought to remain until the moment of combat and glory shall arrive. To you who are in the van we first commit our cause, and by valour diminish the number of our enemies. You who are next in order, when your turn comes, fulfil your duty by dealing destruction around you: and you who form the rear-guard, destroy the rest. Your energy must be guided by intelligence; you must be conducted by wisdom, in order to be conquerors.—Long live the Prince Regent; long live Portugal; long live the Portuguese!—The BISHOP, Governor and President.

SPANISH REVOLUTION.—(Continued from p. 90)—*Proclamation of the Supreme Junta at Seville, 29th May,* 1808.

Seville could not resist the impulse of her heroic loyalty, of which she has set the example in all ages. The king, to whom we all swore allegiance with emotions of joy, unprecedented in history, has been decoyed from us. The fundamental laws of our monarchy are trampled under foot; our property, our customs, our wives—all which the nation holds most dear, is threatened with imminent danger. Our holy religion, our only hope, is doomed to perdition, or will be reduced to mere external appearances without support and without protection. And all this is done by a foreign power, not by dint of arms, but by deceit and treachery, by taking advantage of our good nature, and by converting the very persons who call themselves the heads of our government, into instruments of those atrocious acts; persons, who, either from the baseness of their sentiments, from shameful fear, or perhaps from other motives, which time or justice will unfold, hesitate not to sacrifice their country. It therefore became necessary to break the shackles, which prevented the Spanish people from displaying that generous ardour which in all ages has covered them with glory; that noble courage, with which they have always defended the honour of the nation, their laws, their monarchs, and their religion.—The people of Seville joined accordingly the 27th May; and, through the medium of all their magistrates, of all their constituted authorities, perfectly united, and of the most respectable individuals of every rank and description. This supreme council of government was formed, invested with all necessary powers, and charged to defend the country, the religion, the laws and the king. We accept the heroic trust; we swear to discharge it, and reckon on the strength and energy of the whole nation. We have again proclaimed Don Ferdinand VII. our king; again we swore allegiance to him, swore to die in his defence—and this was the signal of happiness and union, and will prove so to all Spain.—A council of government had scarce been formed, when it violated the most sacred laws of the realm. A president appointed without any authority whatever, and who, had he had any lawful title, hastened to forfeit it. In addition to his being a foreigner, which was a

legal objection to his promotion, he acted with the utmost duplicity, and co-operated for the destruction of the very monarchy, from whom he received his appointment, and of the laws, which alone could sanction his authority. Under these circumstances we could not restrain our loyalty, and much less could we violate the sacred engagements, which we had before contracted, as Spaniards, as subjects, as christians, as freemen, independent from all foreign authority and power.—Nor could the authority of the first tribunal of the nation, the council of Castile, check or controul our exertions. The weakness of that council became obvious from the wavering and contradictory proceedings it adopted. The most momentous and most critical situation in which the nation ever hath been placed, and in which the council should have displayed that heroic firmness with which numberless motives and its own honour compelled it to act. The order tamely to submit to, and circulate, and obey the act of abdication in favour of a foreign prince, was the consummation of its weakness, perhaps of its infamy, for that act was evidently void and illegal from want of authority in him who made it, because the monarchy was not his own, nor was Spain composed of animals subject to the absolute controul of their rulers; his accession to the throne was founded on his royal descent, according to his own confession, and on the fundamental laws of the realm, which invariably regulate the hereditary succession, and with regard to which the council is not invested with any other power, than the sacred duty to enforce their observance. It is void on account of the state of violence and oppression in which it was made, and which is far more evident than the abdication itself; it is void, because the published Act of Abdication of King Ferdinand VII. and of his uncle and brother, was made in the same state of violence and compulsion, as it expressly declared, in the very Act of Abdication; it is void, because many royal personages, possessed of the right to claim the crown, have not relinquished that claim, but preserve it entire. Add to this the horrid treachery which has been employed to sacrifice and degrade the Spanish nation. It is to our alliance, and our sacrifices, that the French are indebted for what they call their triumphs: France withdrew our gallant troops from their native land, and sent them to the most distant countries; she made them fight for her interests, without having any occasion of them, for the obvious purpose of weakening us, and despoiling us of our strength. Her armies afterwards entered Spain, under continual professions of an anxious desire to promote our prosperity, and under the pretext of co-operating in expeditions against an enemy, of whom no farther mention is made. The people, by a generous effort, prevented the departure of their king, a measure which the French should have hailed with shouts of joy; but far from so doing, they kept a profound silence with regard to that departure, and what is still more, converted it into a motive to oppress us. France affected to perceive divisions in the nation which did not exist; the Spanish nation having never been more united in the love and defence of its king. The latter was decoyed into the French territory by deceitful insinuations and professions; with a degree of generosity, of which perhaps there does not exist a precedent, the king with implicit reliance on those vain professions, threw himself into the arms of the French, who with the basest treachery, unprecedented in the annals of civilized nations, made him their prisoner, treated him in a manner the most disrespectful, and forced him to the deeds of horror, which all Europe has witnessed with astonishment, and every Spaniard with indignation and the most poignant grief. In a manner equally deceitful they invited the royal parents to their country, and compelled them to unjust and illegal acts; acts which must hand down their memory to the latest posterity branded with disgrace; they also dragged away the rest of the royal personages, to whom their tender age would have proved an inviolable shield, even among the most barborous nations.—The French ruler summoned the Spanish nation before him; he chose such deputies as best suited his purpose; in a despotic manner of election of other deputies, appointed to deliberate in a foreign country on the most sacred interests of the nation, while he publicly declared a private and respectful letter, written to him by Ferdinand the seventh, at the time when he was prince of Asturias, a criminal performance, injurious to the rights of sovereignty, although the same foreigner, who now affects to consider it as an offence, perhaps induced him to write it. It is indeed a heinous offence, it is rebellion, when an independent nation submits to the controul of a foreign prince, and discusses in his

presence, and under his decision, its most sacred rights and public welfare; and neither Seville, nor any Spaniard, will lower himself to a degree of disloyalty and meanness, which could induce him to a rebellion so atrocious, that even slaves would scorn to disgrace themselves by deeds of infamy like this.—He has resorted to many other indecorous means to deceive us. He has distributed seditious libels to corrupt the public opinion, in which under the strongest professions of respect for the laws, and for religion, he insults both, leaves no means untried, however infamous they may be, to bend our necks under an iron yoke, and make us his slaves. He carries his audacity and deceit the length of assuring the public, in one of his libellous publications, that the supreme pontiff and vicar of Jesus Christ, approves and sanctions his proceedings, while it is notorious, that in sight of all Europe he has despoiled him of his dominions, and forced him to dismiss his cardinals, in order to prevent him from directing and governing the whole church, in the manner sanctioned by our godly Saviour Jesus Christ.—Spaniards, every consideration calls on us to unite and frustrate views so atrocious. No revolution exists in Spain; or did we declare against any power; our sole object is, to defend what we hold most sacred, against him, who, under the cloak of alliance and friendship, intended to wrest it from us, and who, we have reason to fear, will despoil us, without fighting, of our laws, our monarchs, and our religion. Let us, therefore, sacrifice every thing to a cause so just, and if we are to lose our all, let us lose it fighting, and as generous men.—Join me, therefore, all; the people are ready to take up arms; let us commit to the wisest among us in all the provinces of Spain, the important trust to preserve the public opinion, and refute those insolent libels replete with the most atrocious falsehoods. Let every one combat in his way; and let even the church of Spain incessantly implore the assistance of the God of Hosts, whose protection is secured to us by the evident justice of our cause.—And what do you fear? There is not in Spain the number of the enemy's troops which they proclaim, in order to intimidate us. Those who occupy part of our country are composed of different nations, dragged into service, and who anxiously desire to break their chains. The positions they have taken are exactly those in which they can be conquered and defeated in the easiest manner. They are besides weak and dismayed, because the consciousness of guilt makes a coward of the bravest man.—All Europe will applaud our efforts, and hasten to our assistance. Italy, Germany, and the whole north, which suffer under the despotism of the French nation, will eagerly avail themselves of the favourable opportunity held out to them by Spain, to shake off their yoke and recover their liberty, their laws, their monarchs, and all they have been robbed of by that nation. France herself will hasten to erase the stain of infamy which must cover the tools and instruments of deeds most treacherous and heinous. She will not shed her blood in so vile a cause. She has already suffered too much under the idle pretext of a peace and happiness, which never came, and can never be attained but under the empire of reason, peace, religion, and laws, and in a state where the rights of other nations are respected and observed.—Spaniards, your native country, your property, your laws, your liberty, your kings, your religion, nay, your hopes in a better world, which that religion can alone devise to you and your descendants, are at stake, exposed to great and imminent danger.—By command of the supreme council of government, —Don Juan Bautista Esteller, *First Secretary.*—Don Juan Pardo, *Second Secretary.*

Proclamation of Gen. Morla, *Cadiz, May* 30, 1808.

People of Spain, loyal countrymen, whither does your blind enthusiasm, arising from your fervent love for our august and beloved sovereign Ferdinand VII. (for whom we are to die) hurry you along? Are ye not aware that the excesses you commit, hurl us to a precipice, and cause the ruin of the state. Would you be so much misled by prejudice as not to know, that disorganization is the principal cause of the downfal and destruction of the most powerful nation? And convinced of that truth, why do you not hasten to submit to the orders of a government, which has no more earnest wish than to die for our sovereign, who is torn from us by the usurpation of a tyrant? The advantages arising from such a line of conduct will be truly great, because, being organized as militia or veteran troops, the same number of men who pant for the welfare of the nation, will form a body of troops able to march in any direction, which circumstances shall require, and how great will be your satisfaction when you shall see the tranquillity and peace of this town restored.—Hitherto you have acted with inconsiderate precipitance, and done nothing, and under the cloak of your patriotism rogues and ruffians rob and destroy; a thing which cannot but deserve the detestation of

men of sense, and in this manner the merit which your might acquire, by gratifying yourselves to march against the enemy of our native country is undone.—Valiant Spaniards, be therefore calm, and prepare for honourable combat. Let us all endeavour to perfect the vast plan which has been formed to attack the frontiers of our usurper.—The voice of reason has dictated to me these observations, and, as commander in chief, I tell you, that I give you my word, that the French shall not shift the flag, or at least not hoist theirs; any other measure would bring numerous misfortunes over ourselves. Attempt nothing, because you would disconcert my plan; I have already taken my measures, and within twenty-four hours you shall witness the favourable consequences, which we all desire.

Address of General MORLA, *at Cadiz, May 30, 1808.*

BELOVED SPANIARDS.—The Deputy of the people, whom I empowered personally to treat with General Rosilly on the present circumstances, having discharged his trust, I now proceed to acquaint you with the result.—This gentleman has given me a very minute account of the conferences which he had with the said general; the most important point of which is, that, supposing no formal rupture to have as yet taken place, the same treatment ought to be continued towards persons belonging to the French nation, as they have hitherto experienced, until Napoleon shall have given his decision on the prayer addressed to him, to restore to us our august sovereign, Ferdinand VII.; the nation universally demands him; ready to shed the last drop of blood in defence of this cause, and declaring that in order to obtain the restoration of our said sovereign, leave should be given to his ships, which are lying in this bay to depart.—We have nothing to fear from this squadron; on the contrary, by the change of position made by our fleet, it is surrounded in such a manner, that it must be ours, if the reasonable proposal which has been made, should be rejected.—Under these circumstances, my dear countrymen, I only charge you to observe strict subordination to the chief, whom you shall elect: because I shall this instant resign my place, if you do not judge me fit to command you; but if you renew the election, and leave me in the post which I occupy, I alone have to command; no person is to prescribe conditions to me, and no person shall demand of me hazardous actions, which would merely tend to the dismemberment of the nation, and in some measures to frustrate the vast plan, which I have already announced to you.—But should you still entertain the least apprehensions on account of the small number of French ships, which so much engage your attention, recollect, that we have already with one voice proclaimed our firm determination not to obey any other sovereign than Ferdinand VII. and that no advantage or opposition can ever induce us to violate that obligation. And should on the other hand indignation against the crews of the said ships urge you on to vindictive proceedings, bear in mind that you would thereby unavoidably occasion the loss of 25,000 of your countrymen, who are in the north, and above all expose the life of our sovereign Ferdinand VII. who is in a worse situation than the said few ships, and whose life is so valuable to us, that we are determined to fight for him.—Do not, therefore, harbour any mistaken notion, and rest satisfied, that if you act as Spaniards, I shall never separate my destiny from that of Spain—"To die or conquer," is my motto: let no other resound in your breast.

Account of the first Battle between the Spanish Patriots and the French, published by the Supreme Board of Government at Seville.—June 8, 1808.

For the satisfaction of the public, that all may know the real extent of the kind of misfortune which has befallen our troops, and that it entirely arises from this circumstance, that the troops, composed of inhabitants, did not fight so bravely as they ought to have done, since, had they acquitted themselves properly, the French army would have been completely destroyed, and that the people may thereby be excited to wipe off this trifling blot from their scutcheon by their ardor and steadiness in the field. This supreme board of government, orders the publication of the two following letters, one of which is from an officer commanding the van, confidently expecting and enjoining every one for the safety of the country, to display, in such actions as may be fought for the future the discipline, vigour, and steadiness, which have ever been characteristic of true Spaniards, and which are so necessary under the existing critical circumstanc when they become an imperious duty.

MOST SERENE SIR,—The Rev. Anthony Cebreros, a clergyman, who had at Cordova the management of the telegraph which had just been destroyed, presents himself before the board at three in the morning, and relates that at two in the afternoon the French began to batter and force the New-gate of the said town,

and that the action commenced about four in the morning.—All the officers agreeing, that if the armed inhabitants had kept their ground though ever so short a time, no trace would have been left of the French; the troops of the line have distinguished themselves, and more especially their provincial grenadiers and their commandant D. Juan Maria de Morales. The staff, with a considerable part of the army under Echvarri, remained at three in Mango Negro with a great quantity of ammunition and ordnance, one piece of cannon excepted, which is said to be left behind in consequence of the carriage having been broken; which account, signed by the said clergyman, is thus laid before your highness for the corresponding purposes. May God, &c. (Signed) —ANTHONY CEBREROS, and D. JOSEPH MARIA ROMORA.

MOST SERENE SIR,—In conformity to the instructions which I received the moment I was leaving Cordova, which major Alveaz brought me from your highness, and collecting all the troops which I found dispersed in my way, I came back to this town at half past 11 at night, to wait for your further orders. The action which had been doubtful for two hours, was decided in favour of the enemy, by the precipitate flight of the armed inhabitants, whom I found it impossible to keep in their ranks. The pass of the bridge of Alcolea was gloriously defended, both by our artillery and the brave Lasala, who had under his orders 100 volunteers of Campo Mayor and Provincial Grenadiers.—I can assure your highness, the pass cost the enemy upwards of 200 killed or wounded, and that they lost nearly as many in the rencounter with our cavalry. For our part, I will send positive intelligence to your highness as soon as I receive the returns from the respective commandants of corps. In the mean while, from those in my hands, and from what I have seen, I am convinced that the number of both will not amount to thirty. —(Signed) PETER AUSTIN DE ECHEVERRA.

To his Most Serene Highness Francis de Savedra, and the Supreme Board of Seville.

Letters from Gen. Spencer, Lord Collingwood, Capt. Creyke, and Capt. Digby, relative to the affairs in Spain and Portugal, written to the Secretary of State, and to the Lords of the Admiralty, from the coast of Spain and Portugal.

FROM GEN. SPENCER, 17 JUNE, 1808.

My lord,—I avail myself of the opportunity afforded by the passing of the Nautilus from lord Collingwood to sir Charles Cotton to congratulate your lordship on the surrender of the French squadron, of five line of battle ships, and one frigate, in the harbour of Cadiz, to the Spanish arms, on the 14th instant; on which day the Spanish colours were flying in all the French ships. The particulars of this important and interesting event will, no doubt, be fully communicated to your lordship by lord Collingwood.——It is also very satisfactory for me to inform your lordship, that the movement I have made to this quarter, at the request of general Morla, has been attended with the happiest effects. The French troops are retiring in every direction towards Lisbon, except some very insignificant parties left to occupy the different small forts and posts on this side of Portugal. The Portuguese people are rising in all parts, encouraged greatly by our presence here; and the Spanish frontier on the Guadiana is thus effectually secured from any attack of the French.

FROM GEN. SPENCER, 21. JUNE, 1808.

My lord,—The French fleet having surrendered on the 14th, and the Spanish commissioners having since embarked for England, I beg leave shortly to recapitulate the different events which have led to these desirable objects and to state to your lordship the present situation of Spain and Portugal, as far as I have obtained correct information. ——The general feelings of the Spaniards had been for some time excited to the utmost degree of indignation at the conduct of the French. The information of the forced renunciation of the crown of Spain by Charles the Fourth, Ferdinand, and all the royal family in favour of Bonaparte, appeared to be the signal of universal opposition to the views of France.——The council of Seville, one of the principal provincial jurisdictions in Spain have laid hold of some statutes in their constitution, which authorises their rejecting the orders of the supreme council of Madrid, when that capital shall be in the power of foreign troops. They have therefore assumed an independent authority in the name of Ferdinand VII, whom they have proclaimed king; and after some previous steps, they have formally declared war against France, and have appealed to the Spanish nation to support them; and their supremacy has been acknowledged by the councils of several other provinces. In Andalusia they collected from fifteen to twenty thousand regular troops, and have put arms in the hands of upwards of sixty thousand peasants. General Castaneos is appointed commander in chief; and I understand they propose, out of the first levies, to augment the establishment of the old regiments to

double their present numbers. Provincial assemblies are also forming in most of the large towns, and different depots fixed upon for raising volunteers.——They have a proportion of near 4000 cavalry, and a large quantity of artillery, as Seville is a foundery, and one of the largest depots in Spain. ——All accounts agree, that in every part of Spain the insurrections have commenced almost at the same period; many small detachments of the enemy, and many officers have been cut off. Gen. Dupont was on his march to Seville, and had already passed the Morena Mountains, when the insurrection took place. He has pushed on to Cordova, and, by the intercepted dispatches, we learn, he is strengthening himself there, and proposes to wait for reinforcements. In the mean time, the Morena passes in his rear have been occupied by 5000 Spaniards; the road is broken up; and I trust all communication has been cut off.——General D'Alril had received orders to join him at Seville with 4000 men who were to assemble at Alcorentia, but our arrival off Ayamonte, and the arming of all Spain, and the alarms in Portugal, having prevented this movement, I trust that general Junot will not now be able to detach any troops from Portugal, though we understand a French corps have been collected at Elvas, but I do not think it can exceed 4000 men, though the reports of its strength are very various.——At Faro the Portuguese have already risen, having taken or destroyed a detachment of about 200 men, have seized the arms and ammunition of the province, which the French had collected in a depot, and also about 40,000 dollars in gold, which the French general had amassed.

LORD COLLINGWOOD, 14TH JUNE, 1808.

Sir,—In my letter of the 12th instant, by the Alphea, I informed you that application had been made for a ship to carry to England commissioners appointed by the supreme council of Seville, to treat with his majesty's ministers on such matters as are important to the interest of both coutries. The admiral who commands in the port of Cadiz being one of the deputed, they did not choose he should depart until the surrender of the French ships, which took place this morning.——The Spaniards having constructed an additional battery of thirty heavy guns, and numerous gun and bomb vessels having taken their stations, the French ships struck their colours at seven o'clock this morning, and soon after the Spanish were hoisted on board them. The French ships, I understand are not at all injured, as the Spaniards wanted them for their own use; nor has there been much loss of men on either side. The governor some days since (and before I came here) requested of Major General Spencer to proceed to Ayamante, to oppose a detachment of the French army, which was said to be marching from Portugal by the coast; and yesterday the transports proceeded, under the protection of the Zealous, to that quarter, where the Windsor Castle had conducted a detachment the day before.——June 15.—The governor of Cadiz has notified to me, that the commissioners will be ready to embark in two days. As the Revenge has been stationed near the town, where sir John Gore has had much intercourse with the governor and chiefs in command during the late operations, and witnessed the temper and disposition of the people, I have ordered that ship to receive them, that he may give to his majesty's ministers the information they may desire of what has come within his observation as to the present state of this part of Spain.——Application has been made to me this evening by the supreme council of Seville and the governor of Cadiz, to give a passport to a Spanish frigate and four dispatch vessels, to carry to the several governments and presidencies in the West Indies, information of the events which have happened in Spain, and their instructions to the governors: and also that a sloop of war may take out officers, to that country, whose presence there is important; this they urge in preference to their going in a Spanish vessel, as it will convey a proof of their connexion with Great Britain.

CAPT. CREYKE, 20TH JUNE, 1808.

Sir;—Since the account I had the honour of delivering to you on the 10th June, Oporto has undergone two revolutions, and has been successively in the hands of the French and the subjects of the Prince Regent. After the Spaniards had delivered the forts into the custody of the Portuguese, and the national colours were every where hoisted, the French were again able to establish their authority, in consequence of the weak and undetermined measures of the governor, Louis d'Oliveira, who is now confined as a traitor, and maintained it till the 16th, the day of Corpus Christi, a great national festival, when it had been usual for the Portuguese regiments to attend with colours flying. The governor, d'Oliveira, in consequence of orders from Junot, attempted to establish the French flag instead of the Portuguese at the procession. This violent attack on the national custom drew forth the murmurs of the populace to so great a degree, that an attempt to compromise on the part of the go-

vernor had no effect; and on the 18th, in the evening, the day before my arrival here, they were excited to such a degree of fury, that, countenanced by the priests, the people rose en masse, broke open the depots, and supplied themselves with 25,000 stand of arms, and, together with the regulars, formed a most determined and enthusiastic army. From this moment all French authority ceased; and every man, either French, or suspected of being inclined to French interest, was arrested.—The bishop of Oporto was elected as the new governor, and an army of 20,000 men sent to meet the French, who had advanced, to the amount of 900, within six leagues of Oporto. The enthusiasm has communicated from one to the other, and the Portuguese provinces of Tralos, Montes, Minho, and the northern part of Beira, in imitation of the Spaniards have risen in arms, determined to extirpate the French from their kingdom. From the most moderate accounts, besides what are at Oporto, I may estimate them at upwards of 100,000 men. All the regular regiments disbanded by the French are forming again with the greatest alacrity, and will soon join them. I have this day had an interview with his excellency the governor, conducted to him amid the shouts and huzzas of the populace. To-morrow I send a party of men to mount the guns of a large Brazil ship, the command of which is given to an Englishman, and destined as a floating battery to defend the bridge, in case the French should have the temerity to approach, though such an event is not to be apprehended. If any requisition is made for powder, I shall comply with it, but they have at present abundance of arms, ammunition, and provisions The detestation of the Portuguese to the French is so great, that capt Jones and myself, after having begged the life of the French intendant of police had the greatest difficulty in conveying him a prisoner to the boat, and the unbounded love and respect to the English alone prevented the enraged populace from tearing him to pieces.

CAPT. DIGBY, 25th JUNE, 1808.

My lord;—The last opportunity I had of writing to your lordship, I acquainted you of my intention of going to St. Andero immediately, and afford every assistance in my power to the loyal inhabitants, and bring off any British subjects that might wish to come away in the present uncertain state of the country; and I had intelligence that the French frigate in Passage, accompanied by several gunboats, was expected to make a descent on that part of the coast. Owing to the strong easterly winds and long calms, I did not get there till the 21st. The signal post displayed a flag of truce, which was answered by both ships. The captain of the port, Don Vincento Camino, came on board; he told us the French army were soon expected to make an attack on the pass in the mountains that guarded the approach to the town; he invited us to anchor in Pardenero Bay, which we did at 5 p m.; until he had made his report to the bishop, who was the present governor, he wished us not to land. No boat returning by one o'clock the next day, I concluded some sudden attack or unexpected event must have taken place. In the afternoon a brig came out of the harbour, full of people of all descriptions, who had left the town on the report that the French were advancing. I immediately got under way, and sent capt. Daly of the Comet up the harbour, to gain some confirmed intelligence, and, should the report prove true, to reconnoitre the fort, and find out where the principal magazine was, and if it was possible to destroy it. Between 8 and 9 p m. capt. Daly returned with certain information that the French troops had gained the pass, and had halted only a few miles from the town, and were expected to enter that night or next day.—Capt. Daly also made every possible observation, and had himself spiked the guns in two forts near the town, and he requested to go and destroy the magazine, and the guns in the forts that guard the entrance of the harbour. I should certainly have sent the boats that night, but the great chance of their being taken by surprise, should the enemy advance, and the night being very dark and squally, with every appearance of bad weather, made me defer it till the next morning. At daylight we stood into the bay, and manned and armed two boats from each ship, under the orders of capt. Daly; he was accompanied by lieut. H. M. Herbert, of the Cossack, and lieutenant Read, of the Royal Marines, and several of the younger officers, who all volunteered their services; they left this ship soon after 6 o'clock, and landed about 8, spiked all the guns in Fort Salvador d'Ano, and Fort Sedra, and wedged shot in the chambers of them, which renders them quite useless; the magazine was at some little distance, and had 500 whole barrels of powder in it, besides quantities of other stores; all which were completely destroyed, great part by throwing it over the cliffs into the sea, leaving sufficient to blow up the magazine; the train was laid for a considerable distance, and it was let off about 10 o'clock, which instantly levelled the whole building to the ground; finding some more powder in Fort

edra, a train was laid to it, which took effect, and blew part of the house and storehouse in it up; the two other forts on the west side of the bay they could not attempt, as the surf was so high it was impossible to land, and to walk round was too far from the boats, asthey had not a moment to spare: having heard before they set fire to the first train, that the French had entered the town, and they expected a strong guard at the forts, the boats left the shore by 11 o'clock, and had just got round the point of De Ano, when a considerable body of French dragoons appeared on the hill, and took post near the smoking ruins of the magazine. I am sorry to say, capt. Daly, and lieut. Read, of the marines, are much scorched, particularly lieut. Read, in setting fire to the last train; but am happy to find his eyes are safe, and is doing well. Capt. Daly speaks in high commendation of the zeal and exertion of every officer and man employed with him.

Address to the Galicians.

Spaniards!—You have no other alternative! You must either clank your chains in infamous slavery, or fight bravely for your liberty. The monster of France has determined to tyranize over our independence, by expedients more detestable than any yet disclosed in the history of mankind. His infamy is discovered, his treachery is exposed, and our suspicions are confirmed by the plunder of the sacred person of our sovereign. Ah! complicated misery! the butcher will bathe his hands in the blood of our king, if Ferdinand be not rescued by our valour! Shall we permit this public robber to execute his base purposes upon our prince? Shall we allow his banditti, unresisted, to rob our houses, outrage our families, and bear off the holy vessels of our religion, crimes which have been already perpetrated in Portugal?——Spaniards! this is the cause of the Omnipotent God. It must be supported, or your names must be transmitted with infamy to all future generations. Under the hallowed standard of religion, our ancestors gave freedom to the soil, opposed by the multitudinous hosts of Mahomet; and shall we fear to meet a confused crowd of detested atheists, led by the avowed protector of the infidel Jew? If we abandon the field of battle and of glory, our venerable fathers, those heroes who shed their blood for the extirpation of Ishmael, will lift up their heads from the sepulchre, will upbraid us for our cowardice, and will disown us for their offspring.——The tyrants of France, of Italy, and of other nations of the continent, those common enemies of humanity, thrown up by the waves of Corsica, are the same that deluded our young Ferdinand, seduced him by idle promises, and proclaimed him the sovereign of our monarchy. Commencing with this deception, when they had blown up the flames of discord among the members of the royal family, they took advantage of their situation and imprisoned them. By the same intrigues and falsehood, they designed to have enslaved the whole of the Spanish nation; and for this purpose, they endeavoured to attract within their toils, your strength, your valour and your fidelity. It is true, that a few base born wretches, unworthy of their country, have a short time since submitted to their authority, in the way which other faithless and cowardly Frenchmen yield to their proud superiors. These, countrymen, are not the illustrious and generous Gauls, who assist this tyrant in the abominable schemes of his perfidy. His minions are extracted from the most degraded of his conquered countries, and the established principle of their leader is the extermination of those, who, by the sacrifice of their blood, accelerate the projects of his wild ambition.——Are you ignorant, that by the same impulse he has been guided towards our brothers and companions, wishing to blend them with his vile, unhallowed, and manacled slaves, which have betrayed Spain?——Noble Galicians, learned priests, pious Christians, natives of this happy soil! you will be the first to throw off the yoke imposed by this vile rabble. You are the honoured depositories of the sacred remains of the apostle St. James, the patron of Spain. You are decorated with the awful trophies of the most Holy Sacrament, which adorn our standards: you will discharge your duty: you will not fear the hostile bands which lay waste our country to the utmost boundary of a Pyrennean frontier. Fly, then, to arms; let the other provinces unite under the blessed auspices of your fidelity, and of your canonized patron. Raise high your invincible standards, and, confident of success, hasten to the field of battle and of victory, for by such means, alone, you can secure your liberty, and protect yourselves from dishonourable chains.

Regulations for calling forth the People, issued by the Supreme Council at Seville. 6th June, 1808.

Don Ferdinand VII. King of Spain and the Indies, and in his name the supreme council of government of both.——The defence of the country and the king, and the happiness and prosperity of the people, has been and will ever be the sole aim of this supreme council; which to attain that end,

has spared no exertions, and shrunk from no fatigue or danger. In order to facilitate its attainment, the council ordains and enacts as follows:——1. That the enlistment it has ordered, shall be general, including all persons able to bear arms, of the age of 16 to 45: but they shall be divided into three classes. The first is to consist of volunteers: the second of unmarried persons, married men, and widowers without children; the third of married men and widowers with children; persons who have received the lower orders and necessary sevants of the church.——2. The volunteers are to put themselves immediately in motion, and march in any direction, which the councils of government or boards of magistrates shall command; and as soon as they shall have reached the place of destination pointed out to them, they shall either join the veteran troops, or form distinct bodies under the orders of their respective military chiefs, who shall be appointed for that purpose; and the said volunteers, whether they join the veteran troops or be formed in distinct bodies, shall do duty in every point of view as troops of the line.——3. In the second place shall be called out for service those of the second enlistment, that is, unmarried men, and married men, and widowers who have no children, who, on their arrival at the place of destination, shall either join the veteran troops or be embodied in distinct corps; and this being done, they shall in every respect serve and act as troops of the line.——4. At the third calling out, which shall not be resorted to but in case of extreme necessity, such as calls upon us to sacrifice ourselves in defence of our country, shall come the turn of those of the third enlistment, that is, married men and widowers who have children; persons who have received the lower orders, and such servants of the church, as are not indispensibly required for divine service; after having reached their point of destination, they shall join other corps or form distinct bodies, and act as troops of the line, in the same manner as is enacted with regard to persons enlisted of the first and second class.—— 5. The volunteers of the first class cannot plead or claim any exception. Should persons of the second and third class alledge any, they shall be heard, and after a summary discussion, their case shall be determined upon by the respective councils of government, or boards of magistrates, and in this metropolis by the supreme council of government, without any judicial proceedings, costs, or fees: and the decision then given shall be abided by and carried into effect without any further opposition whatsoever. Yet the right shall be reserved to all persons, who may think themselves aggrieved, to lodge their complaints before the supreme council, which, with strict and impartial justice, will give such a decision as the case shall require: but the supreme council at the same time think it right to observe, that the complaints brought before them must concern matters of importance, and not be futile or fictitious: because the situation of the country, which is in danger, demands it.——6. As it is but fair, that the ardour to defend the country should not be damped or cramped in any manner whatsoever, all persons who have received the lower orders, and all individuals, of any class or description, and they whose age exceeds 45 shall be received, if they choose to enlist as volunteers, and permitted to turn out with the first class, or join the others.—— 7. The supreme council of government cannot discard from its recollection the urgent necessity of gathering and inning the harvest, so plentiful as that with which God has vouchsafed to bless us this year. The council, therefore, orders all persons enlisted of the second and third class, personally to apply themselves, without claiming any exemption on account of rank, wealth, or any other motive whatsoever, to gather and inn the harvest, so indispensibly necessary for the public support and happiness. This injunction, however, applies to those only who have exceeded the 45th year of their age, and he who complies shall be declared to have deserved well of his country; and the supreme council of government expects, from the generous character of all Spaniards, that not one of them will take advantage of the present critical situation of the country to raise the price of labour to an excessive amount, but that, on the contrary, they will all act with that heroic moderation which the country and public felicity demand.——8. Women apply themselves in many parishes to reap the corn, and to perform other agricultural labour; and in all the provinces of Spain a great number of them may do the same. The supreme council advises and directs them to do so in the circumstances in which we are placed, and declare this employment in all those who shall devote themselves to it, the highest service which they are able to render their country. All persons belonging to the regular and secular clergy may do the same, and will thereby evince the love of their king, their loyalty and zeal to promote the public prosperity and welfare; and the example which they shall then set to the people, and to persons of every rank and description

will force them to imitate it.——Such women, as on account of their age, debility of constitution, and other reasons, are absolutely prevented from devoting themselves to that employment, will apply themselves to make lint, bandages, and other necessaries, for the use of the hospitals, and after they are made, they will deliver them to their respective councils of government, or boards of magistrates, who will transmit them without the least delay to the intendants or commissaries general of our armies in this capital. The latter will cause lists to be formed of the persons, who shall have applied themselves to this service, and to all other employments ordered, and transmit them to this supreme council of government, who will order them to be printed and published, that they may be universally known, and that every one may receive the praise and reward due to his love of our native land.——We are about to fight in defence of our country and religion, and our conduct and exertions ought to shew that we really are Spaniards and Christians. The supreme council of government do, therefore, charge the armies, the people and persons of every rank and description, to study the utmost purity of manners, modesty, and virtue, and incessantly to offer up prayers to the God of mercy, to appease his just wrath. The council, above all, charges and beseeches them, for love of Jesus Christ, to avoid all jealousies, differences, and disputes, and, sacrificing all personal interests, closely to unite, and devote themselves entirely to the defence of our king. Doing this, the supreme council of government hope and are certain, that God will look down on us with an eye of mercy, and we shall succeed to save our religion, our country, and our king, whose ruin would be consummated by our enemies if they conquered us, which, however, this supreme council of government neither fears nor has reason to fear.—Don Juan Bautista Pardo, and Don Manuel Maria Deaguilar, Sec.

Public Notice.

The five bodies of citizens for the defence of their property, and who can maintain themselves, shall be attached for their instruction, to the five provincial regiments which are now in Cadiz. To each one shall be named a commander from the first families, who may have served with honour, and the remainder of the officers shall be distinguished by their exertions, public acceptation, and other circumstances. An uniform shall be chosen by the military committee. At first they shall do duty with the regiments to which they may be attached for their instruction, and afterwards separately, without any other connection with them than as here expressed.——The most interesting is the prompt enlistment with the respective commissaries.

Edict of the Supreme Council of Government, communicated to the Council of the city of Seville, 7th June, 1808.

Don Ferdinand VII. King of Spain and the Indies, and in his name the Supreme Council of Government of both—In order to carry into full effect the declaration of war against the emperor Napoleon I. decrees as follows.—I. Within four days from the publication hereof, every Frenchman, or person who has served under the French banners, and is desirous to enjoy the advantages of the Spanish service, shall present himself in this capital at the Chamberlain's office, and make his declaration; and, after having taken the oath of allegiance, he shall remain free from all molestation, and enjoy all the privileges which pertain to him. And the same shall be done in all other places and cities, and attended to either by the boards of government or common council, where the former shall not yet have been formed. —II. Every Frenchman or other person, who has served under the banners of that nation, and shall not present himself within four days, as aforesaid, shall be considered as a person disirous of remaining perfectly French; and all his property, of whatever nature or description it may be, shall be confiscated.—III. All merchants, and all other persons who have in their possession, on any ground or title whatever, any goods, claims, or effects belonging to Frenchmen, or to persons who have served under the French banners, shall keep them in their possession, and not dispose of them on pain of being accountable for the same; and they shall within four days make a declaration upon oath of the said goods, claims, and effects, and deliver it to our board of Exchequer; and all persons who offend against this order, shall be prosecuted according to law.—Given in the royal palace of Alcazas, in Seville, the 7th June, 1808. —By command of the supreme council,— Juan Bautista Pardo, Sec. Manuel Maria Aguilar, Sec.

And in obedience to the said supreme injunction, the council of this place orders the same to be published and posted in the usual places, and give notice that the committee appointed for that purpose shall acquaint the Frenchmen who reside here, with the day when they are to make their

appearance, and comply with the said supreme injunction.—Cadiz, June 13, 1808. —Don Juan de Dios de Landdaburn, 1st Sec. Don Juan de la Vena P. Santander, 2d Sec.

Financial Affairs.—4th June, 1808.

From the moment that this supreme board was established, its first care was the preservation of our religion and our country, and it flatters itself it has secured both; because the same noble enthusiasm is observed in all the provinces of the kingdom, in the midst of the serious negociation, it never fails watching over the complete felicity. It waits favourable moments to secure completely the credit of paper-money, the interest of which will be most religiously paid, and its liquidation will be verified with rapidity, to preserve solely the sums that may be deemed useful, not to burthen the subject. The board has committed the plan to some of its members of the greatest rectitude and experience in these matters, and full of regard for their fellow citizens, and the determinations to be taken are the most simple and uniform. The supreme board has thought proper to order the suspension of the sales of the church property, until they are enabled, after due reflection, to examine and adopt the most convenient measures for the happy issue of their wholesome intentions; and that it may come to the knowledge of all, it orders this to be published.—Don Juan Bautista Pardo, Sec.

Edict of the Supreme Council, 8th June, 1808.

In order to avoid the doubts, which, from want of sufficient information, may arise with regard to the true meaning of the manifesto published on the 6th of this month, touching the enlistment, it is herewith made known:—1. That the said manifesto does not at all concern those who have already enlisted in the different corps. —2. That the first calling out of Volunteers includes all unmarried young men, and widowers without children, whom the manifesto places in the second class.—3. That all individuals of the metropolis, and other places, who have not enlisted, must do so without the least delay, excuse, or pretext.—Juan Bautista Pardo, Sec. Manuel Maria Aguilar, Sec.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF SEVILLE.

Spaniards!—The most artful usurper of the throne of France, imagined that our loyalty and ardour had sunk into apathy; but experience is about to shew him how great an error he commits in taking for a cowardly inactivity the promising offspring of the noble sentiments which are our characteristics.—The moment in which the most vile of tyrants throws away the mask, is that for which we most anxiously waited, to prove to him that we are as intrepid, in the eternal enmity his perfidy has aroused, as we were patient in suffering the most condescending and fatal alliance.—From the tomb of our holy king Ferdinand the first standard was unfurled, which leads us to break the chains by which the Ferdinand we now shout for is disgracefully bound, and under which he groans.—Oh prodigy! at this heavenly call, let those passions disappear; which in such a crisis, fatality places as a barrier to courage and bravery. Let the patriotism which glows in our bosoms foment them, and unite us in the best of causes. God, who is always for the just, is our best guarantee, that the unheard of conflict will be decided in our favour.

Letter of the French Admiral at Cadiz, to the Spanish General 11th June, 1808.

Captain General,—I find myself compelled, in consequence of the means exercised against me, to give up the fleet under my command, without further resistance; seeing that it is the interest of both nations not to destroy the ships.—Although your excellency has not announced to me, that the crews of the ships under my command, as well as their property, should be respected, I should reckon too much on Spanish honour, and the known generosity of your own character to entertain any fears on those subjects.—I request that your excellency will only send a few troops at first, that the crew may evacuate, ship after ship, in order to avoid the confusion which has on such occasions taken place.—According to the law of war, I shall request that you will permit, or procure permission for me to send an officer to his majesty the emperor of the French, in order that I may be enabled to give him an account of the events which have taken place.—I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, your excellency's most humble Servant.—Rossilly.

Bando. *June* 12, 1808.

The Junta of the government of this place, seeing the indispensible necessity of attending to its defence under the present critical situation of circumstances, in which the people ought to assist as one of their first and most essential duties, determined in the sitting of yesterday to form a body of 3000 men under the name of Militia for the Defence of Cadiz: this body shall be subdivided into five divisions, applicable to a like number of regiments, which there are of

provincials. Each individual or member shall present himself every afternoon with his respective corps, to acquire the necessary instruction, destining for that purpose two or three hours; understanding, besides, that they are to clothe and maintain themselves at their own expence: and further, that on Monday next, the 14th instant, the inlistment is to be concluded which has been communicated to the commissaries of the different districts, to whom they are to present themselves, and who will take a proper note of their names, address, occupation, &c. hoping that every one will hasten to imitate the distinguished example set by the chiefs and individuals of all the public and private offices, offering themselves on so important a service.—And that this may be known to all, it is published by order of the Junta.—D. Juan de Dios de Ladabarn, 1st Sec. D. Juan de La Pena y Santander, 2d Sec.

Proclamation of the General Assembly of Asturias. Oveido, 12th June, 1808.

Beloved Countrymen—The first duty of a citizen is obedience to the laws and lawful authorities Man, placed in social relations, is obliged to relinquish a small part of his independence in order to secure the rest, and the enjoyment of all the advantages of civilized nations. This subjection, dictated by reason, establishes confidence, tranquillity, and order. Without these valuable blessings the public force is precarious and feeble, and frequently used to oppress the very people whom it shall protect These principles are evident, and equally apply to the constitution and situation of all political bodies.—This being the case, how powerful ought to be their influence in the critical situation in which we are placed. We have to combat a formidable enemy; how shall we be able to conquer him without union? How can union exist without order, and order without subordination, and a profound veneration and respect for the supreme power? With that power you have invested the general council of the principality. Its members, representing the body of the people, have a right to give you laws, which you must obey. Whatever has a tendency to violate those principles and institutions, destroys the constitution, and consequently the welfare of the country and the people. Bear, therefore, in mind, beloved citizens, that popular commotion, confusion, and disorder, whatever may be the pretext on which they are fomented, are contrary to the laws, and neither can nor ought to be tolerated by the supreme power. Confide, therefore, in the depositories of sovereignty, whom you acknowledged and elected. Regulate all your movements and operations, both civil and military, by that leading principle, and true basis of the welfare of the people. Avaunt then, from this day, whatever has the appearance of disorder and popular commotion. The peaceful husbundman on his farm, the priest before the altar, the magistrate in the sanctuary of the law, the soldier in trenches or in camp, all perform their functions under the protection of justice, with perfect tranquillity and freedom Let the legislators issue their command and regulations for the good of the country, sure of your obedience and respect, and let those who shall dare to violate or destroy it, be considered convicted enemies of the country, and be punished as such. This is decreed and intimated to you by the general council.—Ignacio Florez.

Address of the Government to the People of Cadiz, 14th June, 1808.

The French squadron has surrendered at discretion, relying on the humanity and generosity of the inhabitants of Cadiz, as has already been made known. The measures which have been pursued, have prevented our squadron from sustaining the least damage, nor have the forces employed to reduce the French squadron sustained any considerable loss, and the effusion of blood has been less than in the combat of two small armed vessels; the loss in killed does not exceed four men. The French ships, their arms, and warlike stores, remain at our disposal, and the prisoners taken will be exchanged for our troops. Nothing of that kind could have been attained by red hot balls, or similar means. Had no measures of prevention been taken, which require time, our loss would have been much greater. I therefore trust I have acquitted myself in a manner worthy of the inhabitants of this town, who have given me so many repeated proofs of their confidence and respect, that I shall at all times entertain the highest sense of the approbation with which they have honoured my conduct.—But now I demand, exact, and ordain, that all disturbances shall cease; that every thing shall return to order; that all persons, according to their different ranks and stations, shall submit to the constituted authorities, who all depend from the supreme council of government, at all times solicitous to promote the public welfare and to procure the best alliances and means to secure a successful issue of our undertaking: let the laws reign and all arbitrary proceedings be avoided. The most enlightened and civilized people upon earth disgraces itself by

demanding the death of any individual. The field of battle, where force is repelled by force, authorises alone the effusion of blood, which is otherwise illegal. The sovereign himself is not master of the life of an offender, unless he has forfeited the same by the laws of his country.—These laws prohibit in all countries, even among the most barbarous nations, sedition and disturbances of every description; we are bound to obey and respect them. This is the only means to secure a successful issue of the contest in which we are engaged, and not to offend either against the God of Hosts, or the sovereign, whose sacred rights we have sworn to defend.—In order to avoid an unnecessary multiplication of publications, I now address the French, who reside in this city. The supreme council has used towards you the utmost lenity and respect; after having taken the oath of fidelity to the Spanish nation, you are permitted to remain in this country, and your property is respected.—Grateful for this valuable blessing, you should not be vipers, which destroy the bosom that gave them shelter. On the contrary you are bound to shew the utmost loyalty and respect for a government which treats you in so generous a manner; by such conduct you will not only avoid the odium of the good inhabitants of this town, but also obtain their love. Should you act otherwise dread their justice, they will punish with the utmost rigour, and without the least mercy even meetings which you may hold among you yourselves, and disloyal expressions which you may make use of in opposition to our cause. Should any one of you be so far devoid of reason as not to respect it on account of its equity and justice, he will fall a victim of his wickedness or pride.——MORLA.

Address of Gen. Morla to the People of Cadiz, 15th June, 1808.

The commotion more or less violent, which has taken place in the whole peninsula of Spain, has been of eminent service to rouse us from the state of lethargy in which we indulged, and to make us acquainted with our rights, our glory, and the inviolable duty which we owe to our holy religion and our monarch. We wanted some electric stroke to rouse us from our paralytic state of inactivity; we stood in need of a hurricane, to clear the atmosphere of the insalubrious vapours with which it was loaded. Fortunately the only antidote which could save us has proved efficacious. It is, however, necessary to know, that if the use of heroic remedies be continued, after the good effect which was expected from them has been obtained, they destroy, annihilate, and kill; that excessive efforts bring on indirect debility, which is worse than direct weakness, because the very principle of strength is emaciated. Hence it is, that although the popular ferment which has pervaded all the provinces has been of considerable use, yet if not checked, it will produce a state of putrefaction, or, in other words, prove extremely destructive. It is necessary to return to order, and to have confidence in the magistrates, who from their knowledge, studies, and experience, are able to deliberate, combine, and determine as circumstances shall direct. Without the most intimate knowledge, the wisest are liable to err, and how can a mob possibly steer clear of errors, which is mostly guided by the cries of women and boys?—But not restricting myself to this city, I really believe, that all these observations are perfectly useless, because the inhabitants of this city are more enlightened that any other, on account of their trade and intercourse with other nations. There are but few ideots in this city, who are merely guided, as it were, by instinct; and much smaller is the number of those, who, from their vicious habits, can only exist in confusion and disorder. These few have been joined by others of the neighbouring districts, who neither enlist for the honourable and glorious service in which we are engaged, nor apply themselves to reap the plentiful crops with which providence has been pleased to bless us. These are the men who have not looked for any other employment than that of disturbing the peace and tranquillity of this place, and of preventing the rest of the inhabitants, nay, the magistrates, from performing their duty. They are well known; unless they amend their conduct, and all foreigners withdraw to their different habitations, they will certainly be punished. Well-disposed persons will be obliged to take up arms; they who are not able to bear arms will be employed for other purposes; and boys neglected by their parents, and women who raise the hue and cry, shall be punished. The troops, the whole town, the sword of justice, and, above all, God himself, who avenges the wrongs of those who misuse his mercies, authorise and support me. I make this known, that no person may plead ignorance, however disposed, I shall always follow the dictates of humanity and mercy. It will never be my wish to punish, but I shall at all times be happy to correct.

Proclamation of the Partizans of the French, St. Andero, 25th June, 1808.

Inhabitants of St. Andero—An insurrection organized in this city has exposed

your lives and property to the utmost danger. The insurgents routed, conquered, and dispersed, leave you at the mercy of the French army. The bishop of this city has taken advantage of all the influence which he possessed from his dignity and exalted situation, to incite the mob to sedition, and the latter compelled peaceful persons, whose only wish was tranquillity, to march at their head; these persons have quitted their homes, and dare not return, lest they should be persecuted as rebels. The general of division, commanding in St. Andero, considering that the violence of an ignorant and barbarous mob has been the only cause of the step they have taken, invites them to return to their homes, to appear with their arms, and promise fidelity and obedience to his majesty, king Joseph Napoleon, their sovereign, in which case they shall enjoy perfect security and remain unmolested. Within the term of four days, reckoned from the date hereof, the seals shall be put on the goods and effects of such persons as shall remain absent, and their property shall be confiscated for the benefit of the state.—MERLE,—General of division, commanding the French troops.—BONIFACIO RODRIGUEZ DE LA GUERRA, PEDRO FERNANDEZ NICTO, Sec.

Sketch of Buonaparte's New Constitution for Spain.

TITLE I.

Art. 1. The Catholic-Apostolic and Romish religion is the predominant and sole religion of Spain and its dominions; none other shall be tolerated.

TITLE II.

2. Prince Joseph Napoleon, king of Naples and Sicily, is king of Spain and the Indies.—3 The crown of Spain and the Indies shall be hereditary in the male issue lawfully begotten of the body of the said prince, according to seniority of birth, to the perpetual exclusion of females.—In default of such issue male, lawfully begotten of the prince Joseph Napoleon, the crown of Spain shall descend to us and our heirs male, and legal successors, either of our body, or by adoption.—In default of such our male descendants and lawful successors, to descend to the issue male and lawful successors of Prince Louis Napoleon, king of Holland.—And in default of such male descendants and lawful successors of prince Louis Napoleon, to the issue male, and lawful successors of prince Jerome Napoleon, king of Westphalia.—And in default of these, to the first born son, before the death of the last king, of the eldest daughter of those who have male issue, and to his male descendants, and lawful successors; and in case the last king should not have nominated that one of his daughters who has male issue, then to him whom he shall appoint by his will, either among his relations, or among those whom he shall deem most worthy to rule over Spain. This nomination shall be delivered to the Cortes for their acceptance.—4. The crown of Spain shall never be fixed upon the same head with any other crown.—5. In all the edicts and laws, the title of the king of Spain shall be ——D. N.——by the grace of God, and the constitution of the state, king of Spain and the Indies.—6. The king on his accession to the throne, or on his attaining his majority, shall take an oath to the Spanish people on the gospel, in the presence of the cortes, the senate, the council of state, the council of Castile, the archbishops and bishops. 7. The form of the king's oath is:——"I swear, on the holy evangelists, to reverence and cause to be reverenced our holy religion; to maintain the inviolability of the Spanish territory; to reverence and cause to be reverenced, the liberty of the person, and to govern alone for the welfare, happiness, and glory of the Spanish nation."

TITLE III.—OF THE GOVERNMENT.

8. The minority of the king shall last till he has attained his 13th year. During his minority there shall be a regent of the kingdom.—9. The regent must be at least 25 years old.—10. The regent shall be nominated by the preceding king, among the infantos who have attained the age mentioned in the preceding article.— 11. In default of nomination by the preceding king, the regency belongs to the prince the farthest removed from the throne, according to the law of succession, and who has attained the age of 25 years.—12. In case the prince furthest removed from the crown shall be in a state of minority, the regency belongs to the next prince, who shall continue to exercise his functions till the king shall have attained his majority.—13. The regent is not personally answerable for the acts of his administration.—14. All the acts of the regency pass in the name of the minor king.—15. The yearly revenue of the regent shall be one-fourth of the income of the crown.—16. In case the preceding king shall have nominated no regent, and all the princes shall be minors, then the government shall be carried on by the ministers who form the council of government.—17. All state affairs shall be determined by a majority of votes in the council of government.—18. The regency has no right to the personal custody of the king, during his minority.—19. The care of the king during

his minority is vested in his mother, and in default of her, in the prince appointed thereto by the demised sovereign.—20. The board of guardianship, composed of the ministers, shall principally be charged with superintending the education of the young king; and the same shall be consulted in every matter of importance, relative to his person or establishment.

TITLE IV.—PROPERTY OF THE CROWN.

21. The palaces of Madrid, the Escurial, St. Ildefonso, Aranjuez, D'El Pardo, and all the others now forming part of the property of the crown, together with the parks, woods, domains, and estates of what kind soever, constitute the property of the crown. The revenues accruing from the said property shall be paid into the treasury of the crown; and should they fall below the yearly sum of a million of hard piastres, an addition of hereditary property shall be made, so as to make good the revenue to the amount stated. —22. The public treasury shall annually pay over to that of the crown, a sum of two millions in hard piastres.—23. The king's sons, on attaining the age of twelve years shall receive the following annual revenues in the name of subsistence money, viz.:— the heir apparent, 200,000 piastres; each infanto, 100,000 piastres; and each infanta, 50,000 piastres.—24. The dowry of the queen is fixed at 400,000 piastres, and shall be paid out of the treasury of the crown.

TITLE V.—OF THE OFFICERS OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD.

25. The chief and grand officers of the royal household are six in number,—a grand almoner, grand chamberlain, grand cupbearer, grand master of the horse, grand huntsman, and grand master of the ceremonies.—26. The noblemen of the chamber, the steward's chaplains, and equeries, are officers of the royal household.

TITLE VI.

27. There shall be nine ministerial departments, viz. of police, religion, foreign affairs, internal affairs, domains, war, marine, the Indies, and general police.—28. A secretary of state, in the character of minister, shall sign all acts of government. —29. The king may commit several ministerial functions to one minister.—30. There is no other precedence among the ministers than what results from their priority of nomination in point of time.—31. The ministers, each in his own department, are responsible for the execution of the laws, and of his majesty's orders.

TITLE VII.—OF THE SENATE.

32. The senate is composed, 1. of the infants of Spain, being 18 years of age. 2. Of twenty-four individuals, specially appointed by the king from among the ministers, captain-generals, ambassadors, councillors of state, and members of the council of Castile.—33. The existing councillors of state are members of the senate. No new nomination shall take place until they are reduced below twenty-four, as regulated by the preceding article.—34. The president of the senate is appointed by the king. He is chosen out of the senate, and his functions last for one year.—35. The senate meets by the command of the king, or on the application of the junta, or one of its officers for internal affairs.—36. In the case of an armed insurrection, or of apprehensions respecting the safety of the state, the senate may, on the proposition of the king, suspend the operation of the constitutional act in a particular district, and time to be limited.

[The remaining articles of this title, and those of the 8th title relative to the council of state, contain little that is of general interest. The king presides in the council, which is to consist of not less than 30, nor more than 60 members, divided into six sections, viz. those of justice, religion, internal affairs, police, finance, war, the marine, and the Indies.]

TITLE IX.

57. The cortes or juntas of the nation are composed of 150 members, divided into three estates or orders, namely those of the clergy, nobility, and people.—58. The order of the clergy shall consist of 25 archbishops or bishops.—59. The order of the nobility shall consist of 25 nobles, who shall have the title of Grandees of the cortes.— 60. The order of the people shall consist of 40 deputies from the provinces, 30 from the principal cities, 15 from the merchants, and 15 deputies from the universities, to consist of the most celebrated for their attainments in the arts and sciences.—61. The archbishops or bishops constituting the order of the clergy, shall be raised to the rank of members of the cortes, by a writ sealed with the great seal of the state. They cannot be divested of their functions, but by virtue of the sentence of a competent court, pronounced in due form.—62. The nobles must possess an annual income of at least 200,000 hard piastres, and have performed great services in the civil or military departments, to qualify them for being elevated to the rank of grandees of the cortes. They shall be raised to the rank by a writ stamped with the great seal of the state. They cannot be divested of their functions but by the sentence of a competent

court, pronounced in due form.—63. The deputies from the provinces shall be nominated by the same, in the proportion of at least 1 to 300,000 inhabitants; for this purpose the provinces shall be divided into so many elective districts as shall be necessary to furnish the population giving a right to the election of a deputy.—[The articles from 64 to 70 inclusive, contain the forms to be observed in electing the deputies of the people, the commercial bodies, and the universities.]—71. The cortes shall assemble upon the summons of the king. They cannot be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, but by his orders. They shall meet once, at least, in three years.—72. The president of the cortes shall be appointed by the king, but shall be chosen out of three candidates to be nominated by the cortes by ballot, and an absolute majority of votes.—73 and 74. On the opening of such session, the cortes shall nominate three candidates for the presidentship, two vice presidents, two secretaries, and three committees, each to consist of five members, viz. a committee of justice, of internal affairs, and of finance. —75. The sittings of the cortes shall not be public. Their votes shall be taken by ballot. 76. Neither the opinions nor votes shall be printed or published. Any act of publication, in print or in writing, by the assembly of the cortes, or the individual members thereof, shall be regarded as an act of insurrection.—77. The alterations to be made in the civil or criminal code, or in the system of finance, shall be laid before the cortes for their decision thereupon, by the orators of the council of state.—80. Should the cortes conceive themselves to have just grounds of complaint as to the conduct of any of the ministers, a petition, containing their alledged grievances and suggestions shall be carried by a deputation to the foot of the throne.—The king shall appoint a commission, consisting of six councillors of state, and six councillors of Castile, to examine into the said petition.—81. The decrees of the king, issued in pursuance of the decision of the cortes, shall be introduced with the formula "upon consulting the cortes."

TITLE X.—OF THE SPANISH COLONIES IN AMERICA AND ASIA.

82. The Spanish colonies in America and Asia shall enjoy the same privileges as the mother country.—83. Each kingdom and province shall always have deputies at the seat of government, charged to watch over their particular interests, and to serve as their representatives in the cortes.—84. These deputies are 20 in number, viz two from New Spain, two from Peru, two from the new kingdom of Granada, two from Buenos Ayres, two from the Phillipine islands, one from the island of Cuba, one from Porto Rico, one from the province of Venezuela, one from Chareas, one from Quito, one from Chili, one from Guatimala, one from Guadalaxara, one from the interior western provinces of New Spain, and one from the eastern provinces.—86. The said deputies shall exercise their functions during the period of eight years; and if upon the lapse of the same their successors shall not have yet arrived, they shall retain their functions until their actual arrival.

TITLE XI.—OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

87. Spain shall be governed by one and the same code of civil laws. 88. The administration of justice, is independent.—89. Justice shall be dispensed in the name of the king, by judges and courts of justice to be appointed by his majesty. All courts claiming particular privileges, and all the exclusive jurisdictions of any orders or seigniories whatever, are abolished.—[The remaining articles under this head contain nothing of general interest.]

TITLE XIII.—GENERAL REGULATIONS.

107. There shall be a permanent alliance by sea and land, offensive and defensive, between France and Spain. The contingent to be furnished by each of the respective powers, in case of a continental or maritime war, shall be regulated by a separate treaty. —108. Foreigners who have performed, or may hereafter perform, great services to the state; who may prove useful from their talents, inventions, or zeal and activity; who may form great establishments, or purchase funded estates paying a tax of fifty hard piastres,—are admissable to the rights of naturalization in Spain. The king confers this indulgence through his minister for internal affairs upon consulting his council of state.—109. The residence of every inhabitant of the Spanish territory is an inviolable sanctuary. It can only be entered in the day time, and for a purpose commanded by law, or in execution of an order issued by the public magistracy.—110. No person domiciliated in the Spanish territory can be arrested, except in the actual commission of a crime, or by virtue of a lawful warrant in writing.—111. In order to the execution of a warrant of arrest, it is necessary 1. that the reason of the arrest shall be formally set forth therein, and that it shall state the law enjoining the same. 2. That it shall be granted by an authority formally empowered by law to grant it. 3. That its contents shall be communicated, and

a copy thereof given to the person to whom it applies.—112. No jail or prison keeper can receive or hold any one in custody, without entering in his register a copy of the warrant or commitment, indictment, or sentence, or, in a word, every order whatsoever in virtue of which he holds the person in custody.—113. Every jailer or prison-keeper shall be compelled, and no order whatever shall be considered as an impediment, to bring his prisoners as often as he shall be required to do so, before the magistrate charged with the affairs of the police.—114. The relatives and friends of the prisoner shall not be prevented from entering the prison, upon their producing an order from the magistrate. A specific order from the judge to the jailor, can alone justify the detaining of a prisoner in close custody.—115. Persons not authorised by law to issue warrants of commitment who shall give orders for arresting, or cause to be arrested, any person whatsoever, as well as those who, in cases of legal arrest, shall detain the prisoner in any place not known as a legal jail, and all jailors contravening the three preceding articles, are guilty of the crime of arbitrary imprisonment.—126. The present constitutional statute shall successively, and according to the importance of the respective articles, be carried into execution by royal decrees or edicts, so that the whole shall be in operation before the 1st of January, 1813.—127. The freedom of the press shall be regulated two years after the constitutional statute shall have been in operation. The cortes shall pass a law respecting the freedom of the press. *(To be continued.)*

SWEDEN.——*Report from Field-Marshal Count Klingspor, to His Royal Majesty, bearing date, Head-Quarters, Hemmango, the 14th of June.*

In my last report, of the 9th inst. I humbly stated to your majesty and the Finnish army, that I found it necessary to send reinforcements to Hemmango, in order that I might be better able to make such arrangements as circumstances should require. I thought it expedient to remove the head-quarters to this place. In consequence of information having been received, that the enemy was forming a considerable magazine, which was nearly completed, I ordered major Ticandt, at the head of 200 men, to dislodge the enemy from his position near Perha, and render himself master of the above magazine, the result of which operation was that, after a short action, the enemy's troops were surrounded, and two officers, five non-commissioned officers, and 88 rank and file were made prisoners, and one officer and two men killed. The magazine, consisting of a very considerable quantity of oats, grits, meal and bread, was taken, but want of horses has hitherto prevented me from removing it for the use of the army.—MAURICE KLINGSPOR, Field-Marshal and Commander of the Finnish Army.

General Vegesack's Report to his Royal Majesty, dated Island of Karlo, June 21, 1808.

General Vegesack reports, that he made himself master of the different islands in the inlet of Abo, stationed strong armaments on Kuste and Kaxkerta, the nearest of them, and distributed his force in small bodies on every isle and rock, so as to seem formidable, aad make the enemy believe that the main attack was meant upon Abo; but fearing that this alone should not have the desired effect of drawing the Russians from the North, he determined to make a landing, which he accomplished on the 19th, at the point of Lemo, under the protection of the well directed fire of the gun-boats, which came close ashore, and soon forced the Russians to make room for the Swedes. General Vegesack now proceeded to the pass at outer Lemo, on the high road to Abo, having three guns and one thousand five hundred men. Here an affair began which lasted fourteen hours and a half, the Russians endeavouring to dislodge him. But seeing great bodies of Russians, mostly cavalry, hourly pouring in, and hearing from a Swedish non-commissioned officer, who in the night had made his escape from Abo, that the Russians, already 10,000 strong, were advancing from all quarters, and that they took his corps to be only the avant guard, he judged that he had attained his purpose, and re-embarked under the same protection of the gun-boats. His loss in killed and wounded he states to be 194 men, including officers. His adjutant, Baron Ramsay, was killed. Barons de Geer and Adelsyard, of the volunteers, wounded. He praises the soldier-like conduct of this latter corps, whom he now had the honour the first time to lead to battle. In the night of his landing, 107 young men, of whom 66 were soldiers of the garrison of Sweaborg, flew to his standard, and embarked with him.—*(Stockholm Gazette.)*

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